

# ***SIKH THEOLOGY***

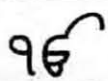
## **The Sikh Sansar**

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**THE SIKH SANSAR:** *Sansar* means universe. Traditionally the material universe has been considered an "illusion" (*Maya*). The Sikhs consider the material universe as a manifestation of the cosmic spirit. This journal will attempt to present both the material and spiritual aspects of Sikh Culture.

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## Editorial

THE SIKH SANSAR  
Volume 6, Number 1  
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The study of religion requires familiarity with many disciplines such as philosophy, science, history, ethnology, linguistics, literature, sociology, psychology, and, above all, theology. It is true that during the last century the existence of Sikhism, as a religion, has been known to all. This knowledge has, however, been limited to its existence only. Until recently people in the West showed very little interest in Sikhism.

Sikhs in the West have made their impact mostly as scientists, engineers, doctors, teachers, traders, yogies, militarymen, and farmers. They have not yet come out as theologians. It is not that there are not any Sikh theologians around. There must be some other compelling reasons which resulted in their hiding.

The presence of the Sikhs in North America, has been for less than a century. This brief period has been primarily utilized by them in establishing their homes. Their remaining resources were directed to establish their entity and their centers of worship. They are still preoccupied in that phase of development. Moreover, Sikhism as a whole has not yet completed 300 years after the death of its last prophet. This extremely brief period, is not sufficient to consolidate and clarify theological doctrines of a new religion. What has been done, usually remained a domain of Sikh saints and scholars in the Punjab. Their writings largely remained limited to the Punjabi language. Very little of it has trickled down to the English language.

Everything has a beginning. We felt that the time is ripe now to undertake writing on Sikh theology in our English journals published in the West; and that the Sikh Sansar should take a lead. As a result, a year ago, the management of the Sikh Sansar resolved to bring out the present issue. I was asked to coordinate. Several members of the editorial board and guest writers are scheduled to participate. At the time when we were planning for this issue, we pleasantly came across a new journal, Sikh Dharma Brotherhood, published by Sikh Dharma Brotherhood, Inc. Washington, D.C. This journal often contains writings on Sikh theology by the newly converted Sikhs in America. We welcome this noble effort of our brethren and look forward to their increasing contribution to the study of Sikh theology.

This special issue is a humble beginning. We wrote to several Sikh scholars in India to contribute to this issue. Many have not answered our letters, others promised to send manuscripts but failed to do so. A few of them did come out to stand by us and have prepared manuscripts for this issue. We are grateful to them. We are publishing some of these manuscripts now and others are scheduled to be published in future issues. We also hope to approach other writers again.

In this issue we only begin what is hoped to be a continuous dialogue on the theological issues in Sikhism. As our resources are limited our efforts are bound to be humble. We are including a number of papers on Sikh theology in this issue and plan to continue the coverage of this subject in subsequent issues under special features. Two such features are scheduled to be added beginning with the June issue. They will alternate in consecutive issues of the Sikh Sansar. Under "NOTES ON SIKH THEOLOGY" we will publish brief accounts of various issues as commented upon by our theologians from time to time. In alternate issues, "CONVERSATION WITH THE GURU" will be published. Here the theological issues, as narrated in Sri Guru Granth Sahib, will be included.

The success of our project, as described above, will be determined by the response from our readers and our writers. You can help in both. We will feel highly rewarded if you write to us your feelings about our project, introduce SIKH SANSAR to those who still do not subscribe, and, send your suggestions on new topic. Contact qualified and willing contributors, along with sending your personal contributions of both funds and publication material. I trust that you will join us in our prayer for the Guru's guidance.

Wahe Guru ji ka Khalsa

Wahe Guru ji ki Fateh

(Bhai) Harbans Lal

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## NONSENSE IN CENSUS

Hari Singh Everest  
Yuba City, California

Are you listening America? My promised land?

On the 20th of July, 1951, I asked you: How will you treat me if I come to live with you? You told me to read your Constitution. I did. I was satisfied. I was, then, in India.

It took me the next three and a half years to be actually in New York, to meet you. You saw me in the full beard and turban. I felt that you were a little startled. Perhaps you, actually, were not so. Maybe I was self-conscious in a new land. Anyway, I told you I was a Sikh. You confirmed that there was religious freedom in here. I knew this from the Constitution. I relaxed.

I resumed my stay here. I worked with you. Worshipped with you. Talked with you. Walked with you. You asked, I answered. I asked, you answered. You and I agreed: No hyphenated Americans. No titled Americans. Just plain Americans. I was thrilled.

So, on the 15th of August (1960), the Indian Independence Day, I became independent of independent India. I stood before a federal court judge in Sacramento, California, and proudly shifted my allegiance: I sounded out loud: "I pledge allegiance to the flag of the United States of America and to the Republic for which it stands, one Nation under God, indivisible, with liberty and justice *for all*."

This was a great day in my life. I became an American. I could, now, develop myself to the fullest potential. The cumbersome life of religious intolerance, caste casts, linguistic quibbles, racial rancor, provincial puerility ended for me. What a relief! I was overjoyed, indeed.

But wait! There was some unrest. Some violations. The offenders were challenged by the Blacks. They gave a heroic battle to the violators of the constitutional rights. These events put America back in its unique position. A glorious one. The true spirit of you, the America, prevailed. I was again reassured in the ultimate victory of justice.

However, the dust of the civil rights battles, of the sixties, had hardly settled down, I found out that although your wounds were healed, the scars were showing off. Your recovery from your lapses, was construed the triumph of the Blacks. As if a miracle has happened: A part claimed, not only be equal to

its whole, but be bigger than it. An impossibility. An absurdity.

In the census of 1970, as a result of this, you began to ask your people, who they were. Were they white, Negro, Indian American, Japanese, Chinese, Filipino, Hawaiian, Korean or others? The *one Nation, indivisible*, began dividing. The game of the numbers started. In principle, you, the America, admitted that the righteousness of a cause is dependent upon how many people support it. (The earth was flat to you, if two of the three people said it was so; and only one said it was not.) I was dismayed. A skid set in.

Now, the census of 1980 is approaching. Plots are in the offing to fool you. Nay, to hurt you. Beware.

Some of *the most modern anthropologists* will claim that they have enough evidence to warrant designation of the people from the Indian Subcontinent as a *separate* and *unique* race!

They have even suggested a name for you: Indic. How idiotic. Obviously, they have not found enough, or any, evidence that we all belong to only *one* race. The *human* race.

Do you remember, America? Until recently many Indians who came to visit with you, used to chide you for your racial disharmony? Always proclaiming that they belonged to the human race. (You used to have an item in your immigration forms to this effect.) Do you know that some of these very Indians who will now be pressuring you to grant them a special category, in the upcoming census, are the bitterest foes of any similar arrangements in their old country? They are uncomfortable with the loss of their caste system. They would like to create one. Please America, you are fighting hard to end prejudice and resultant discrimination. Discrimination in reverse is doubly repugnant. Don't accept it.

Are you listening, America? My own land? A promised land to the millions of others in this world? I AM A HUMAN. My race is human. I have the faith of a Sikh. A rugged individual not to be overawed by odds. And I am an American of my own choosing, standing firm on my constitutional rights.

Do you need to ask any more of me in the 1980 census?

## THE CONCEPT OF GURU IN SIKH THEOLOGY

By Bhai Harbans Lal

The concept of Guru is a fundamental of Sikh theology. While in some other faiths the Guru is considered merely a spiritual perceptor or teacher, in Sikhism, the Guru is an impersonal institution as basic as the religion itself.

### Background and Need

Although the term guru is derived from ancient Sanskrit words its meaning was taken in a very general way before the times of Guru Nanak. According to the tradition of Upnishads<sup>1</sup> Guru is defined as "the spiritual teacher; a spiritual parent or perceptor from whom a youth receives the initiatory mantra or prayer, who instructs him in the scriptures, and who conducts the necessary ceremonies in connection with his investiture with a sacred thread". Thus, before Guru Nanak, the term guru was used for a brahmin, sannyasi, yogi, priest of a temple or even a school teacher. There were many such gurus and they were different for different individuals in each town or a social group.

It is obvious that a guru of ancient tradition will be a necessity only of ancient times. Today, the value of a traditional guru is being questioned. Many sincere and well meaning scholars of today believe that a common man, in ancient times, was unsophisticated and uneducated to need a wise man of the community for day to day guidance. Now that education can be acquired by a variety of means and the other intellectual, and social necessities are met by specialists and professionals who are accessible to everyone, a need for a traditional guru is questionable. It is this feeling that is expressed by scholars like Krishna Murti who asserted that there is no need at all for guidance from any guru. We believe that the above comments are only applicable to the gurudom of ancient traditions. In Sikhism the concept of Guru is different and unique. By that Guru is very much needed by a modern man.

### Guru of the Sikhs

In Sikhism the term Guru is used in its etymological sense and beyond. It has been given a profound meaning and the highest significance. In Sanskrit word *gri* means to assimilate or to enlighten. Bhai Santokh Singh explains in Nanak Prakash, the meaning of the term as: *gu* means inertia, matter, ignorance, and transience; *ru* means the Light which illumines the Principle of Consciousness. Bhai Mani Singh gives similar etymology. *Gu* means darkness and *ru* means light. Thus Guru means the dispeller of darkness that he dispells by turning on the light. It is this

meaning that is incorporated in the term Guru of Sikh theology. Guru Nanak<sup>2</sup> makes it clear by saying, "*agyan andhera katia gur gyan ghat balia*" (Guru ignited glow of divine knowledge that destroys the darkness of ignorance in our mind).

The Guru in Sikhism is the perfect representative of God, in whom the Light of God shines fully, visibly and completely. According to Guru Nanak<sup>3</sup> "*karte ki mit karta jania ke janai gur soora*" (the depths of God are known to God and also to the Guru). Guru is not God but like God he is perfect, immortal and divine. "*Bhulan ander sabh ko abhul guru kartar*"<sup>4</sup>

In Guru dwells the light of God Himself. "*Satgur which aap rakhion kar pargat aakh sunaya*"<sup>5</sup>.

It means that in the Guru, God has installed His own spirit. Through Guru, God reveals Himself.

The Satguru is the true instrument of His will and He is commissioned by God to reveal His truth to humanity. God reveals Himself in the most extraordinary manner, clearly and perfectly to the Guru and the Guru reveals God's knowledge to humanity. God calls the Guru His son, image and His own self as is told by Guru Gobind Singh in Bachiter Natak, "*Mai apna sut tohi nivaja*". The true Guru reveals divine truths which have no equal. Guru Amar Dass<sup>6</sup> says, "*satgur sach dirraya iss dhan ki keemat kehi na jai*" (True guru reveals the wealth of the truth which is priceless).

### Word (Sabad) as Guru

The seed of divine light is there in everybody and in every soul. It remains hidden from our material eyes and from our intellect. Guru provides spiritual eyes and shows that light to man via sabad (Word). As says Guru Amar Dass<sup>7</sup>. "*Eka jot jot hai srira, sabad dikhai satgur poora*" (The one eternal light resides in every body and the true Guru who is perfect shows the light through the Word).

On account of his divine prerogative and attributes the Guru, even when in human form, is godly and divine. God speaks to humanity through the Guru. God enlightens the seekers of truth through him and His Word. The Guru of History is far more than the historical activities attributed to him. The Guru of Scriptures is an eternally living being having three personalities as Guru Gobind Singh once told Bhai Nand Lal who recorded it as "*Tin rup hain mohe ke suno Nand chit lai, Nirgun, sargun, guru sabad kahon tohi samjhai*"<sup>8</sup>. Nirgun is attributeless, a tribute of God in purest form which represents God in the Guru and Guru in the God. In this personality

Guru is omnipresent to guide his Sikhs everywhere. The Guru manifest historically, as is the case of ten Gurus and Khalsa Panth, is the second form of Guru. In this form Guru is Sabad (Word), through which Guru communicates with human body and human consciousness.

During the times of the Sikh Gurus it was first thought that ten Gurus themselves were Gurus. But soon was it realized that Guru's word (sabad) was the real Guru who was manifest through each of the embodiments of the Guru, and presently is residing in Sri Guru Granth Sahib. The human bodies of the Guru were only the vehicle for the Word as are the 1430 pages of the present Guru, Sri Guru Granth Sahib. Even during their life time the Sikh Gurus insisted that their human body was not to be regarded as Guru, but the Light of the Word that shines in them was their real Guru personality. As was shown in history, that light was passed from one human body to another as needed and, the human bodies chosen for this purpose were of different ages, were dressed differently, and even named differently in order to establish that any particular form of the human body is not considered to be Guru. When Guru was asked by the yogies in regard to the concept of Guru and the disciples, the Guru answered that the true Guru is the Word (sabad) and human consciousness (surat) is the disciple<sup>9</sup>. "*Sabad guru surat dhun chela*".

Sikh theologian, Bhai Gurdas who was also Guru's scribe, has said, "In the Word is the Guru and the Guru is the Word". Whoever seeks Light from Guru must approach him mentally and spiritually with dedication and faith. Thus when a disciple imbibes the wisdom of Guru, he blends mentally and spiritually with the Guru as says Guru Amar Das<sup>10</sup>. "*Sat gur ki jis no mat avai, so satgur mahi samans*" (Whoever acquires Guru's wisdom, will be merged in the Guru).

According to Guru Nanak<sup>11</sup> God merges His Light in the Guru as Word (sabad). "*Gur meh aap samoi sabad vartaia*". (In the Guru God blends Himself and Word becomes omnipresent). The Sikh Gurus stressed time and again that sabad (Word) is the Word of God spoken to man through the Guru as Guru Nanak told Lalo<sup>12</sup>. "*Jasi meh awaay khasam ki bani tesrha kari gyan weh Lalo*" (Oh Lalo, I relate the divine knowledge according to the Word as it comes to me from the Master). Again Guru Arjan said<sup>13</sup> "*satgur ki bani sat sat kar jano gursikho har karta aap muhu kadai*" ("O" Sikhs of the Guru, recognize the Word of the satguru as true, for the Creator Himself put it in the Guru's mouth). Similarly Guru Nanak said<sup>14</sup>, "*Sach ki bani Nanak aakhai, sun sunaisi sach ki bela*" (Nank utters the Word of Timeless, He speaks truth when describing the Truth ultimate).

It was this meaning of the term Guru in his mind, when Guru Ram Das talked about Gurbani as 15 "*Eh akhar tin aakhia jin jagat sab upaya*" (This word

comes from Him who has created the whole universe) and Guru Arjan said<sup>16</sup> "*haun aapo bol na janda mai kehya sab hukmao jio*" (I do not know how to speak of Him, I say what He commends me to say). Similarly Guru Ram Das said<sup>17</sup>, "*Bani guru guru ha bani wich bani amrit sare*" (The Word is Guru and in the Word there are all the ways of immortality). While talking about a visit with the Guru, Guru Amar Das advised his Sikhs to meditate on Guru's sabad and said<sup>18</sup>, "*satgur no sab ko vekhda, jeta jagat sansar, ditthe mukat na howai jichar sabad na dhare pyar*" (the whole world may see and meet the Guru, but mere sight of Guru does not bring salvation unless man contemplates the Guru's Word).

The Sikh religion clearly commends to obey the Word as contained in the Sri Guru Granth Sahib as the only Guru. "*Guru granth ji maneo pargat gura ki deh, jo prabh ko milho chai khoj sabad meh lei*" (Accept the Holy Granth as Guru which is the visible personification of the Guru. Whoever wishes to realize God may find Him through the Word contained in it). These instructions were issued by Guru Gobind Singh as recorded by Bhai Prehlah in his writings<sup>19</sup>.

In summary, the Guru is the religious teacher of man and the spiritual guide of the human consciousness who shines divine light upon darkness of ignorance. The Guru is not to be thought as a mere human body. The human Guru is but the vehicle to administer the sabad (Word) which is the real Guru. The relationship between the Guru and the disciple continues as such until the attainment of a monistic state of "*aape gur chela*" where the disciple and the Guru merges into one.

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## THE IDEA OF JIVANMUKTA IN SIKHISM

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In or to serve the purpose of God a *jivanmukta* remains active in society. The practice of withdrawing from active social life is not appreciated in Sikhism. The *jivanmukta*, having attained his own goal, strives to help his fellow travellers to reach their destination. He helps others to seek their liberation. Leading all the beings to liberation is the sacred duty of a *jivanmukta*.

Almost all the religions of the world express their concern for the predicament of man. Man viewed from the religious perspective is a sinner and alienated (Judeo-Christian view) or ignorant, estranged and illusioned (Indian view). His existence in the world is characterized as 'broken' for he has lost his primordial position and he is ignorant of his true nature, his primordial position being his place in Heaven and his true nature being his divine nature or identity with God. As a result of his 'fall' or 'ignorance' he is living a life of imperfection and suffering. This imperfection and suffering can be removed by re-establishing the lost relationship, by attaining the glory of Heaven and by realizing the true nature of the self, i.e. becoming one with God. Man, therefore, stands desperately in need of reunion or enlightenment.

Attainment of reunion with God or liberation from bondage has been accepted as the highest aim (summum bonum) of life. So far as this goal is concerned, all the religions seem to be in agreement. However, in their description of the nature of this goal they have considerable differences. Each religion has formulated its idea of liberation in accordance with its own *Weltanschauung*. As a result of the difference in their world view we find different ideas of liberation in different faiths.

In Indian religions there is a marked difference between the idea of *videhamukti* (liberation after the dissolution of the body) and *jivanmukti* (liberation while still in embodied existence). Only those religious systems subscribe to the former view which consider that the physical body is also one of the causes of bondage. According to them true liberation means liberation from the body also. In Sikhism it is not the body but the consciousness of separate individuality (*haumai*) that constitutes human bondage. Because of this reason Sikhism subscribes to the idea of *jivanmukti*. A *jivanmukta* is a person who realizes liberation in life. An understanding of the Sikh view of liberation will help us in our effort to understand the nature of *jivanmukta*.

Liberation in Sikhism may be understood from two standpoints, positive and negative. Positively understood, it is union with God. Macauliffe calls it 'absorption in God',<sup>1</sup> McLeod refers to it as 'the union of the individual man with the being of God, the Super Soul'.<sup>2</sup> Sardul Singh describes it as 'regain-ing one's Divine Status'<sup>3</sup> and Mohan Singh Diwana refers to it as 'to unite with God, who is whole, One, only —'<sup>4</sup> All the traditionally used terms have been employed in Sikhism to convey the nature of the state of liberation.

Some prominent terms employed in Gurbani for the state of *mukti* are, *anand* (bliss), *maharas* (the supreme taste), *sahaji samauna* (merging of the individual into God), *ekbhai* (to become one), *sanjoga* (union), *amarpad* (the immortal state), *chauthapad* (the fourth state), *sunya samadhi* (gathering into void), *mukti* (liberation), *jivanmukti* (liberation while still in embodied existence), *paramgati* (the supreme state). The underlying connotation of all these terms is union with God as a result of the union, the attainment of bliss, the union, the attainment of bliss, knowledge and freedom follows. The union with God may be understood in terms of absorption in God through the process of unitive consciousness (*liva*). It is the state of constant awareness of God as the only reality.

Negatively speaking liberation is the annulment of transmigrations,<sup>5</sup> i.e. the destruction of the chain of birth and death. It is the eradication of *haumai* (egoity) which in Sikhism is the main cause of bondage,<sup>6</sup> it is freedom from all the attendants of transmigration, i.e. suffering, old age, death, etc.<sup>7</sup> The liberated person succeeds in overcoming his *haumai* and surrenders to the will of the Almighty.<sup>8</sup> The stage where one transcends the ego-consciousness is called *jivatmarna* (dying while alive). He who dies while yet alive attains the eternal life. The power of *maya* which deludes the person in bondage through the misrepresentation of creation, fails to delude the liberated person. The liberated person knows the nature of *maya* and transcends its delusive effects.

Like a lotus in the water, he remains in the world of *maya* without being attached to it. He rises above the three strands (*gunas*) of *maya* and attains the fourth state *chauthapad* which lies beyond the reach of the three *gunas*. At this state the notion of duality (*dubidha*) vanishes and the liberated person is free from all the vices. Having destroyed the notion of duality, he attains to the innate nature of equipoise (*sahaj*). The *jivanmukta* becomes perfect in every respect. There is nothing that he has to accomplish.

*Mukti* or liberation in Sikhism is to be understood as a spiritual state and not as the attainment of heaven. Heaven in Sikhism is a state of *man* (mind) attuned to God:

"Heaven is where abide the Lord's Saints.  
Yea, where the Lord's lotus Feet  
One Enshrines in the mind."<sup>9</sup>

Describing the state of liberation Gopal Singh says that 'when through love worship of God, our Ego, (*haumai*) is merged in Super Ego, our passions and cravings like lust, anger, greed, attachment and pride vanish, the sense of duality between 'I' and 'He' is lost and we work and move in Lord's Being and accept joyously His Will in whatever happens and so we merge in him whose sparks we are.'<sup>10</sup> According to McLeod "Man's nature for Guru Nanak is dependant upon his affiliation, and that nature is transferred when his affiliation is transferred from the world to divine Name."<sup>11</sup> All that is needed, is not the extinction of one's personality but the change of the object of affiliation. The change can be effected through the submission of one's ego to the cosmic divine order (*hukam*). In the process of liberation God becomes the sole object of all affiliations. In *Gurbani* the change of affiliation is understood in terms of eradicating one's ego:

"Yea, he alone is emancipated in life  
who is rid of his ego."<sup>12</sup>

Or

"If living, one dieth (to the self and to dying  
liveth he, he is emancipated forsooth."<sup>13</sup>

The liberated person has variously been called *sant* (the quiescent), *panch* (the elected), *brahmanyani* (the knower of God), *gurmukh* (one whose mind is turned towards God), etc. He attains to the innate nature (*sahajsubhai*). He remains unaffected by the dualities and doubts. Such an attitude has repeatedly been described in *Gurbani*:

"He who loveth from his sould the Lord's Will,  
Attaineth deliverance while yet alive.  
Is ever in Bliss and never in woe,  
As is gold for him, so is dust.  
As is poison, so is nectar.  
And as is honour, so dishonour.

As is the king for him, so the beggar  
And he finds his way in the working of His Will.  
Nanak: He attaineth deliverance even in life."<sup>14</sup>

Again,

"He who's affected neither by joy nor by sorrow,  
and looketh upon friend and foe alike,  
He, sayeth Nanak, is the Emancipated, the  
Released one."<sup>15</sup>

In concluding the above brief discussion we may say that a *jivanmukta* is a person who has realized all the attributes of liberation in life. He has attained a state of equipoise where his self will is completely attuned to the Will of God. The delusive power of *maya* does not delude him because through the unitive consciousness (*liva*) he remains absorbed in God and thus realizes his true nature. Separation from God and self-centredness are incompatible with the nature of the liberated person. He is absolutely free here and hereafter. The physical body does not constitute bondage for him. While yet in body he transcends its limitations. In short he is a God-man on earth.

One question that remains to be discussed briefly is that, why does he stay in the world after attaining liberation? Is he required to exhaust the *prarabdha karma* before the dissolution of the body as is held in the Advaita Vedanta? Does he withdraw from active life in society in order to enjoy the bliss of liberation or does he remain active for the accomplishment of some higher purpose?

As to the question of *prarabdha karma* (the deeds already begun) we do not find any clear answer offered in *Gurbani*. Nowhere is it mentioned that the liberated person lives to exhaust his *prarabdha karma*. All that we can make out from the *Gurbani* is that he continues to live in body after attaining his liberation in accordance to the will of God and to serve the purpose of God.

In order to serve the purpose of God a *jivanmukta* remains active in society. The practice of withdrawing from active social life is not appreciated in Sikhism. The *jivanmukta*, having attained his own goal, strives to help his fellow travellers to reach their destination. He helps others to seek their liberation. Leading all the beings to liberation is the sacred duty of a *jivanmukta*:

"The Lord's Servant saves himself  
and all his kins, nay, he saves  
the whole world."<sup>16</sup>

Saving the whole of the world is the purpose of God. A *jivanmukta* is an instrument in the hand of God who uses him to accomplish this purpose. He not only strives in this life, but can also take any number of births for the fulfilment of this purpose:

"Above birth and death are they, for,  
They come into the world to do good to others.

And they bless all with the life of the soul  
and lead all to Thy worship and unite all  
with thee."<sup>17</sup>

Such a noble birth does not fall in the domain of the law of *karma*. It is according to the Will of God.

It follows from the above that *jivanmukta* is a transformed man. His transformation consists in the transformation of his worldly nature into divine nature which was already present in his but because of the perverted attitude it was not finding its expression.

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## ਰਾਜ ਕਰੇਗਾ ਖਾਲਸਾ ਆਕੀ ਰਾਹੇ ਨਾ ਕੋਏ

RAJ KREGA KHALSA AKI RAHE NA KOAE

By Baldev Singh  
East Greenbush, New York

The Khalsa will rule and no body will challenge. This line is a part of the hymn the Sikh recite after the prayer (ਮਰਦਾਸ, ARDAS) during the *Bhog* Ceremony. Sometimes Sikhs as well as non-Sikhs ask, "How come? The Sikhs who pray for the well-being of the whole humanity (ਸਰਬਤ੍ਰਕ ਭੁਣਾ), also wish for their supremacy." Answering this question, some people try to twist the meaning of the word Khalsa; for example, it has often been noted that some people due to ignorance, simplemindedness or sheer hypocrisy give the interpretation that Khalsa in this instance could mean pure, good or ethical etc. On the contrary, the word Khalsa in this line means: The Khalsa Panth established by Guru Gobind Singh. If we look at the circumstances under which this expression was added to the hymn, it becomes quite clear that it is consistent with the Sikh philosophy of live and let-live and the concept of *Chardikala* (being in high spirits and optimists). This whole hymn was composed after the death of Guru Gobind Singh. The first few lines refer to the instructions (ਰਾਮਨਾਮਾ Hukamnama), Guru Gobind Singh gave to the Khalsa Panth before his death. Probably this line was added during that dark period when the Moghul rulers<sup>1</sup> and their henchmen tried the systematic extermination of the Sikh people in order to blot their name from the pages of existence. The tradition of *Akhandpath* (ਅਖੰਡ ਪਾਠ), the continuous recitation of Granth Sahib was also started in this period. Similarly new lines were added to *Ardas* at different times when the Sikhs made supreme sacrifices for the cause of justice and freedom, in the struggle against the oppressive authorities. 1, 2a, 2b

From Guru Nanak (first Guru) to Guru Gobind Singh (tenth and last Guru), the principle of live and let live- was preached. Their teachings emphasized that religion should preach tolerance and love not hatred among people of different creeds, colors or caste. People should be free to choose their own religion and way of life. They asked their followers to be good and law abiding citizens and at the same time they pointed out that the rulers must be kind and respectful to the religious sentiments of their subjects. They urged upon their followers to be willing to oppose religious or political injustice and tyranny at all costs. Two of the Gurus (5th Guru Arjan Dev, 9th Guru Teg Bahadar) set the example by sacrificing their lives. Guru Teg Bahadar died to defend the religion<sup>3</sup> of the Hindus. There are hundreds of examples in Sikh history where Sikhs laid down their lives to protect the honour and faith of others. It is against Sikh philosophy to harbour ill-will against others or to subjugate them.

.... continued on page 11



continued from page 10 . . .

The teachings of the Gurus removed the fear of death from the minds of the Sikhs. The concept of "fear not, frighten not" (ਭੈ ਨਾ ਭਉ ਫੈਣ ਨਾਫਿ. - - -) inspired the simple peasants to challenge the mighty Moghuls. The inculcation of Chardikala (ਚੜ੍ਹਦੀ ਕਲਾ) gave the courage and strength to a lonely Sikh to take on a legion of the enemies. After the death of Guru Gobind Singh, the Khalsa Panth carried out the struggle against the oppressive Moghuls and their surrogates who took all kind of measures not only to suppress but to annihilate the Sikhs. Aside from the military action, some of the proclamations issued by the authorities in power, are given below.

1. Any person wearing long hair and beards was tortured and killed.
2. Use of the word, Guru and the name of Gobind, recitation of Gurbani and possession of the holy Sikh scriptures was prohibited.
3. Rewards were given to the general public for the help in apprehending the Sikhs: Rupees 25 for the capture of a Sikh, rupees 10 for the head and rupee one for the information regarding the whereabouts of the Sikhs.

Everyday hundreds of Sikhs were brought to Lahore and butchered at Shahid Ganj. The executions and torture were carried out in the open public in order to intimidate would be Sikhs and their sympathizers. Embracing Sikh religion meant sure death<sup>4</sup> as it is illustrated by a saying of that period: we have four sons but one became a Sikh (died). Under these circumstances, the true sons of the Khalsa Panth had to take refuge in the hills, jungles and the desert land between Punjab and Rajasthan. The saddles of their horses became their home.<sup>5</sup> This was a time of trial of the will-power of the Khalsa to survive. Rather than giving up their faith and the struggle against their persecutors, they gave practical shape to the concept of Chadikala. They faced all the difficulties including death and torture, in the tradition of Guru Arjan Dev, (*Tera Bhana Mitha Lage*, ਤੇਰਾ ਭਾਣਾ ਮੀਠਾ ਲਾਗੇ). Words, Phrases, proverbs and songs were composed to infuse their spirits with optimism. The following examples will illustrate their attitude towards death, persecution and the hardships in getting the bare necessities of life.

We are the crop and Mannu the sickle<sup>6</sup>  
The more he cuts us  
The more we grow  
In every house and hamlet

Seeing their numbers dwindling the slogan of Guru Gobind Singh (ਸਾਹਿਬ ਜੀ ਦੇ ਦਿੱਤੇ ਵਾਕਾਂ) became a part of their everyday language. One Sikh was called Sava Lakh (ਸਾਵਾ ਲਾਖ); one Sikh was considered equivalent to 125,000 enemies. Similarly for food and clothes which were difficult to obtain, exotic names were used for coarse food and rags, in order to soothe the feelings of deprivation. These were the circumstances under which the Khalsa introduced this line: *Raj Krega Khalsa Aki Rahe Na Koe*, into their litany. It was this spirit of optimism which kept the community alive and their wish was indeed fulfilled when Moghuls and their henchmen were defeated by the Khalsa Panth and they were masters of Punjab and the adjoining provinces. It is noteworthy that for the first time in the history of India, this was the Khalsa Panth also who pursued the enemy across Afghanistan border and conquered Kashmir and Ladkh. It should also be noted that whereas Moghul rulers and their Hindu officials of Punjab and Rajput Kings of the hills committed the worst kind of atrocities against Sikhs, Maharaja Ranjit Singh, the lion of Punjab, gave prominent positions to both Muslims and Hindus in the military and civil government. He rebuilt several Hindu temples that were destroyed by the Muslim rulers and invaders and also he gave grants for building of new mosques. This clearly illustrates that under the rule of the Khalsa, people of other faiths enjoyed the same rights and privileges as the Sikhs. IN THE END I WOULD LIKE TO EMPHASIZE THAT SIKHS BELIEVE IN SECULARISM BUT IF CIRCUMSTANCES CHANGE AND THEY ARE FACED WITH AN OPPRESSIVE AND INJUST REGIME, THEY WILL BE ABLE TO DRIVE STRENGTH FROM THEIR NOBLE TRADITIONS AND COME OUT VICTORIOUS IN THEIR STRUGGLE.

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TRUTH IS ABOVE ALL THINGS, BUT ABOVE TRUTH IS TRUTHFUL LIVING

Guru Nanak

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SWEETNESS AND HUMILITY ARE THE ESSENCE OF ALL VIRTUES

Guru Nanak



**GURU NANAK'S CONCEPTION OF THE NAM  
AND  
SURAT-SABD YOGA**

Bhai Jodh Singh

We remember those whom we love. Constant remembrance begets love of God in us. And "Those who are imbued with the love of God love all." <sup>3</sup> Egoism that begets hatred is destroyed and compassion for our fellow men takes its place. In serving others we feel pleasure and our whole being is filled with devotion to Him.

The word Nam has been used in two senses in Guru Nanak's Bani as an appellation and as a symbol to denote the All-prevading Supreme Reality that sustains the universe. To realize this Presence is the aim of an individual soul set forth by the Guru. Again and again he emphasizes this point in his teachings. "He alone lives, who enshrines God in his heart, Nanak, none else lives. Even if he lives, he will depart dishonoured. All he eats goes waste, intoxication of wealth, intoxication of royalty, the shameless fellow dances under their influence. Nanak! he will depart defrauded and deprived. Without the Name he will die disgraced!" <sup>1</sup>

"Those who have not relished the taste of love, cannot know the purpose (of life) fixed by the Bridegroom, like a guest entering an uninhabited house they depart (empty-handed) as they came. The swan (soul) has given up singing praises of God and is pecking at carrions, earning a hundred reproaches by day and a thousand by night. Cursed is the life spent in mere gluttony and distending the tummy. Nanak except love for the True Name all other attachments are inimical (to the soul)." <sup>2</sup>

How to realise this Presence? The first step is to recite, understand and delve deep in the Guru's word.

"This body is the market place of the bullion merchant (God) O brother the businessman who reflects on Guru's word sticks firmly to the merchandise displayed in it. Blessed the trader who being united with the word (of the Guru) engages in this trade." <sup>3</sup> and

"One returns home earning profit if by Guru's word he knows the ineffable." <sup>4</sup>

Religious life as defined by Guru Nanak does not consist in mechanical performance of rites and ceremonies. According to him the basis of spiritual life is the right conduct as portrayed by the Guru. 'Nothing can approach Truth but Right conduct excels it.' <sup>5</sup> The pure in heart will find God. "Truth can be contained only in a pure vessel (heart) but few adopt pure conduct." <sup>6</sup> Again to emphasize this point he says: "Shun vice and run after virtue. Those who commit sins will have to repent. Those who cannot distinguish between right and wrong occasion sink in mud (of sins) again and again, with dirt of greed inside and much falsity in speech, why are you bathing your body from outside. Through the Guru ever repeat the pure Name, then alone will your inside become pure. Shun covetousness, give up calumny

then you will be rewarded through Guru's word. Keep me in the way that pleases Thee, O God, Thy servant will glorify Thee through the word." <sup>7</sup>

The followers of Semitic religious offer animals in sacrifice to atone for their sins. Some Indians think that a bath in a river which they consider sacred will wash off their sins. Others undergo severe penances and perform austerities for the same purpose. But mortification of flesh does not clean the heart of its evil propensities, desires the cause of frustration and misery cannot be annihilated by these means. "some pick up roots and hide in forests. Some roam in ochrecoloured robes calling themselves yogis and sanyasis. Full of desire inside hankering after food and clothes they waste their time in vain; They are neither house-holders nor anchorites. They cannot avoid death and desires arising out of three modes (gunas). The god of death cannot approach those who listen to the Guru's instruction. He (yama) becomes a servant of their servants. Relying on the True Word and with Truth in their mind they practise detachment even while living in their homes. Nanak! who serve their Satguru give up all desires." <sup>8</sup>

"When a man ascends the ladder of truth with the True Name on his lips, home and forest become the same to him. Automatically his evil understanding is destroyed, praises of God take its place. Subduing his mind he gets the illumination (mentioned) in the six sastras. He sees the light of God prevailing everywhere and serving the Guru he reaches his real abode. But if he assumes, the outer forms of various seats his desire increases He undergoes the suffering resulting from sensual pleasures and happiness leaves his body. Lust and anger rob his inner wealth. Let him get rid of scepticism and get salvation through the Name." <sup>9</sup>

We remember those whom we love. Constant remembrance begets love of God in us. And "Those who are imbued with the love of God love all." <sup>10</sup> Egoism that begets hatred is destroyed and compassion for our fellow men takes its place. In serving others we feel pleasure and our whole being is filled with devotion to Him. "Guru's instruction leads to loving devotion. Egoism inside is destroyed through the word. The wandering mind is restrained and controlled and the True Name fills our being." <sup>11</sup>

The Guru does not prescribe animal sacrifices, performance of various forms of *yajnas*, bathing at sacred Tirathas or ascetic practices for the atone-

ment of our sins. Loving devotion to Name accomplishes this purpose for a Sikh. "When hands, feet, trunk or body are soiled with dirt, washing them with water cleans them of it. When clothes become impure with urine, we wash them clean by soap. When our mind is defiled by sins, loving devotion to Name will wash it of that impurity."<sup>12</sup> "Impurity of (mind) will be removed by the True Name. Through the Guru's grace one should always keep his mind imbued with the Name."<sup>13</sup>

Mere mechanical repetition of the Name is of no avail in our spiritual progress. "Leaving the tongue when one repeats the Name with the heart, then its full significance is realised."<sup>14</sup> i.e. repetition by tongue should result in constant remembrance by heart. When the name is enshrined in the heart then immanence of the Supreme spirit is realised. "In the ambrosial hours of the morning meditate on the True Name and His glory. By good actions a man gets the vesture (body) but the door of salvation is reached through His grace."<sup>15</sup>

From the time of Upanisads the discipline for self realisation was the practice of *Astang* yoga of Patanjali, details of which are given in his yoga aphorisms. Later on the system of Hatha yoga was adopted by the Nath sect of earsplit yogins. In both systems the practiser was advised to resort to lonely places like forests or mountain caves. In an appendix to the English translation of yogic aphorisms called *Raj Yoga* Swami Vivekananda quotes from Svetasvatra Upanished the following sloka:

IN (lonely) places as mountain caves, where the floor is even, free of pebbles or sand, where there are no disturbing noises from men or waterfalls, in places helpful to the mind and pleasing to the eyes, yoga is to be practised (mind is to be joined) Chapter II, Sloka 10.

The Hatha yoga Pradipka by Swatama Ram Swami, in the 12th Sloka of the first discourse directs:

The practiser of Hatha yoga should live alone in a small Matha situated in a place free from rocks, water and fire, of the extent of a Lew's length, in a country ruled by a virtuous king, (inhabited) by people following Dharma, where he could get alms easily and which is free from disturbance.

Guru Nanak does not want the practiser of Nam resort to forests or mountain caves. In his dialogue with the Siddhas recorded in Ramkali measure Lohari Pa invites Guru Nanak to adopt such a life saying:

"Away from the markets and thorough fares we live among shrubs and trees of forests, eat for food roots and fruits. An Avdhut should always discourse on gnosis. Bathing in sacred places peace is obtained and no dirt remains attached to the mind. Lohari Pa, the disciple of Gorakh says this is the discipline of yoga."

The Guru replies:

"In markets and thoroughfares a man should remain alert and not let his mind run after other

women. Without the support of the Name the mind finds no rest, nor is its hunger (for worldly goods) appeased. The Guru has shown me the shop, the city and the home where I peacefully trade in truth. My sleep (of forgetfulness) is broken and I eat little and reflect on Realty, O Nanak."<sup>16</sup>

God of Guru Nanak is formless, has no shape or features. A question is sometimes asked on what a man should fix his attention in Jap (repetition) or Simrin (remembrance) God has no form but the Guru says He is endowed with attributes and qualities. Uttering the Name by tongue our heart should concentrate on these qualities which are predicated of Him. "In the ambrosial hours of early morning reflect on His True Name and on His greatness (great attributes)." Those who reflect on Nirbhau (without fear) become fearless themselves.

The Name is a gift of God through the Guru. By our own attempts we cannot be imbued with it as long as egoism (individuality) persists the Name is not enshrined in our heart.

The Guru says:

"I fall again and again at the feet of the Guru, through whom I have realised God inside me. When I reflect on Him God fills my heart, and seeing Him in my heart I dwell on Him. Utter the Name of God and thou wilt be redeemed. The Jewel of the Name is found through the grace of the Guru, ignorance is destroyed and light dawns." But by mechanical utterance thy bonds will not break, thy egoism and doubt will not be destroyed. When thou meetest the Guru, thy egoism will disappear and then thou wilt be of any account. When The Name of God, the beloved of devotees, is enshrined in thy heart, the world will become an ocean of peace. Then Lord, dear to His devotees and the life of the world will save thee by His beneficence if thy mind surrenders to that of the Guru. He who grapples with his mind and accepts death (of the body) will receive the Lord. His desires will be absorbed in their source. And then the Life of the universe will shower His grace and his mind will be attuned to Him (God)."<sup>17</sup>

All the adjustments of mind which contribute to the attainment of harmony and balance are automatic and unconscious even where self-consciousness and introspection are highly developed.

#### Surati Shabad Yoga

In the lexicons compiled by competent lexicographers the word Surati and Sabad are given a number of meanings each. Instead of discussing which of them apply to these words, in Guru Nanak's hymns we shall try to find their meanings from quotations in which they occur.

When Surti awakens to the melody of the Sabada within, mind in the body of six nerve ganglions

(Chakkar) became detached (from sensual pleasures). My mind was absorbed in perennial music, and through Guru's instruction it was attuned to the True Name. Devotion to God brings bliss, O man! Through Guru's instruction the Name tastes sweet and one is absorbed in it."<sup>18</sup> The word sabad means Gursabad in this quotation which is clear from the following:

The Sabda of Guru tastes supremely sweet. This nectar I found inside me. He who tasted it reached perfection. His mind gets satisfaction and body is comforted."<sup>19</sup> "Seeing Him (God) through Guru's word (sabda) my mind was reconciled, for none else can imbue it with love. Day and night He watcheth over living beings, He is the King."<sup>20</sup>

In his dialogue with the Siddhas in Ramkali the meaning of these two words is made very clear. When Charpat asks Guru Nanak how to cross the impassable ocean of this Samsara he replies:

Just as a lotus flower remains detached in water and a duck's feathers do not get wet floating in a stream so one crosses the ocean of Samsara by keeping his Surti glued to Sabda. By enshrining the one in his heart he lives as if in solitude and cherishes no hopes amidst hopes.<sup>21</sup>

Wear the ear-rings of listening without break to the Sabda inside and destroy egoism and mine-ness. Get rid of lust, anger and pride the Guru's word has made it clear. Make the thought that God is all-pervading thy wallet and patched coat, then, says Nanak! One God grants salvation. The Lord is True and true is His glory. He who tests this teaching of the Guru will find it true."

In the last lines of pauri 21 it is recorded:

He who destroys the poison of egoism through Guru's word (Gur Sabad) abides in his own house. Nanak is the slave of him who through the Word knows Him who has created the universe."

In the third and fourth lines of pauri 34 the word Sabad and Gur-sabad are used as synonyms.

He who dies (to self) through Guru's word will find the door to salvation. Without the Word all are lured away by other, reflect on it in thy mind.

When the Siddhas put him the questions in pauri 43, "How did life originate, of what creed is the sway in the present age? What is the gospel that keeps you detached? Explain to us your doctrine that Sabada makes one cross the ocean of Samsara," he replied:

Nanak speaks listen to it, O yogi. Air (breath) originates life and the sway is of the creed of Satguru. The Sabad is the Guru and the Surti attuned to it is the disciple. The inexpressible gospel of the Lord keeps one detached. God is the Guru in all ages says Nanak. He who reflects on the gospel of Sabad through the Guru's instruction his fire of egoism is extinguished. 44

The split-eared yogis of Nath school, were having this dialogue with Guru Nanak. They heard sounds when the prana (the vital force) pierced the Anhat-Chakar situated near the heart. The sound began with the sound resembling the tinkling of ornaments. Progressing further when he pierces the fifth chakar the sound like that of a kettle-drum is heard. Further on he hears the sound like that of a mardal (a sort of drum) and when he pierces the knot in Agya Chakra, situated in the midst of two brows he hears the sound of a flute and vina.<sup>22</sup> Guru Nanak nowhere in discoursing on Surti-Sabad mentions such sounds. He was not a Hatha yogin and his attention was not fixed on such sounds. In Japu pauri 5 he had, clearly stated "the word of the Guru is the (Nadang) music which the seers hear in their moments of ecstasy, the word of the Guru is the highest scripture (Vedang). By communion with the word we attain the vision unattainable."<sup>23</sup> The word Sabda used in connection with Surt does not mean any sort of sound, it means the Guru's word. Bhai Gurdas in his var 4 pauri 4 removes all doubts on this point.

"His (the Sikhs) surti is wide awake to the Sabda, he is deaf to every sound except that of Guru's work." Again in pauri 5 of Var 28 he says "To know what it is to be the disciple of the Guru he in the company of Sadhus (who have practised the method) should learn to attune his Surti to the word."

"The Guru's word as deep as the ocean is the Guru, without the word the world goes astray."<sup>24</sup> This quotation removes all doubts regarding the meaning of Sabad in Gurbani.

The repetition of the Name is practised by the sufi saints and the Catholic branch of Christian also repeat such phrases as "Ave Maria." Dwelling on the same idea mind is attuned to it and a state of ecstasy ensues.

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- |                              |                                  |
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| 8. Var Majh Pauri 5          | 20. Parbhati 1.15                |
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| 12. Japu Pauri 20            | 24. Sorthi Ast 8                 |



## AKATH KATHA – THE SIKH THEOLOGY

Bhai Harbans Lal

Although it is the Sikh theology that is usually preached by the faithfuls in every congregation, yet limited attempts have been made to systematically present its essentials. Bhai Gurdas, Bhai Mani Singh, Bhai Nand Lal, Bhai Kahan Singh, Bhai Vir Singh, Bhai Randhir Singh, Bhai Jodh Singh and Sardar Kapur Singh are among those few Sikh scholars who have successfully written a great deal on issues of Sikh theology. However, most writings have been in Gurmukhi. Since theology is meant to be strongly emphasized in Sikhism, it is essential that its essence be communicated in the language of the contemporary societies.

### Theology Defined

There is a great deal of confusion in the minds of many Sikh writers of today about the interpretation of the terms such as theology in the books or other writings entitled as philosophy of Sikhism.

*Braham Vidya* is the oldest term for theology. It has been extensively used, for teaching, by ancient Hindu mystics since the days of Mahabharata. The present word theology is said to be derived from Greek words, *theos* meaning God and *logos* meaning discourse. Therefore, the literary meaning of the word, as it is used in English language, would be "discourse on God". The term theology first appeared in Plato's Republic (Book 11, chapter 18) in reference to poetry as it was related to matters of theology. Theology thus meant stories about the gods. It was Abelard (A.D. 1079-1142) who redefined the meaning of the word, and since then, it has meant "study of christian doctrines of God, displayed in Holy scriptures and the Church." It seems that it is on this basis that Oxford English Dictionary defines theology as "the study or science which treats of God, His nature and attributes and His relation with man and the universe". In other dictionaries it is also defined as a body of doctrines as set forth by a particular church or religious group. The western theologians usually devoted their writings to the problem of God, Nature and Existence.

### Theology vs Philosophy

Although theology and philosophy are related subjects, they are not synonyms as many Sikh writers imply. Philosophy is usually used to rationalize religious doctrines such as existence of God but in its proper meaning philosophy of religion often means philosophical thinking about religion. On the other hand, theology is a systematic formulation of religious beliefs and a statement of religious truths that provide working values of a religion, as opposed to the phil-

osophy of religion which studies the concepts and propositions of theology and the reasonings of theologians. Whereas theology strives to present the experiences and doctrines of a religion in an intelligible form, philosophy concentrates on study of the phenomena of religious experience and the activities of worship upon which theology ultimately rests. Philosophy is used in defence of theology but philosophy is never a substitute for theology. The theologians may unfold a life view based on religious postulates in a manner that it takes a position between faith and religion. The philosopher relates to these postulates for the purpose of analysis while standing one step removed from theology.

### Theology of Sikh Religion

In the Sikh scriptures, there are several references to the subject of theology. In Gurmukhi, the language of the Gurus, the term "*akath katha*" (ineffable discourse) seems to have been appropriately used to represent meaning of the term theology. Although Sikh theology accepts the principle of different approaches to the same Truth, it does provide its own standards whereby the individual's understanding of his religion and his way of life is adequately comprehended. Sikh theology provides a relationship between philosophy, ethics, and mysticism. Numerous descriptions of mystical experience and lofty deeds of the Sikhs amply attest to the adequacy of Sikh theological doctrines.

The principle source of all Sikh theology lies in the Guru himself, presently, Sri Guru Granth Sahib. The Guru is a medium of revelation and Sikh theology is a discourse based upon this revelation. Gurbani, the religion contained in Sri Guru Granth Sahib, is not a merely human, and therefore fallible, record of divine truths written through inspiration of the God, it has God for an author. A Sikh gives an intellectual assent to the contents of Gurbani as true because to his belief Guru was ordained by God to reveal His religion through it. God revealed this religion to the Guru and inspired him to spread it to mankind. *Gurmat* is a Sikh's perception of that revelation and *Gursikhi marg* consists of an actual practice of *Gurmat*. In Gurbani there are many theological truths that can be well understood by human intellect. In addition, there are further truths which are not accessible to human reason but are initially to be gotten from the Guru as revealed truths. Their real meanings are subsequently realized by meditation on *naam* under Guru's guidance.

## Mangal Singh of Otorohanga

by W. H. McLeod\*

Places names in New Zealand can be very difficult to pronounce and one of the most difficult of all is Otorohanga. It is, like most places in New Zealand, a Maori word and it designates a small town in the Waikato district of the North Island. The country surrounding the town is slightly hilly and well watered. It grows one crop it feeds a valuable animal. The crop is ordinary green grass. The animal is the Jersey cow.

For all New Zealanders the Waikato means dairying and the vast majority of its green acres are devoted to raising the cows which provide the famous butter and cheese of New Zealand. Otorohanga lies in the heart of this dairy country and around it are spread prosperous dairy farms. Of all these perhaps the best known is the Mount Cosy farm, celebrated for its distinguished line of stud Jersey stock. The brief article concerns the man who created the Mount Cosy stud and with it produced a series of champions in a country which regards its stock as the best in the world. His name was Mangal Singh.

Half way across the world from Otorohanga is Herian, a village near Banga in Jullundur district of the Punjab. Herian is situated within eastern Doaba, an area which raises some interesting questions. From this area a remarkable number of men have migrated overseas in a stream which began to flow during the late nineteenth century and which continues to this day. Why have so many people migrated from this particular area? Inadequate answers come easily. They migrated because there was a tradition of migration; because being for the most part Sikhs, they were less constrained by tradition than others; above all because of economic needs. The answers may be correct, but they remain inadequate because the people of eastern Doaba have not been the only Sikhs under economic pressure.

The reasons may still be partly obscure but not the fact of the migration. A tour around the Waikato soon makes this clear. Villages names recur in the conversation—names such as Bundala, Jabbowal, Jandiala, Raipur Dabba, and Rurki. All are villages in either Nawanshahr or Phillaur tahsil and if any individual comes from a village beyond the bounds of these two it will almost always be from the immediately adjoining tract of Hoshiarpur district.

Herian is in Nawanshahr tahsil and it was from Herian that a young man named Karam Singh Ragi

set out for Fiji in 1914. Karam Singh at the time of his departure was nineteen or twenty years of age and his reason for leaving was, to use his own word, *garibi*. His father had a small quantity of land, but not enough to persuade Karam Singh to stay. Others from the area were making the same decision. Agents acting on behalf of Fiji sugar interests had been encouraging migration and Karam Singh was one of several who responded.

Fiji, however, was not to be his final destination. On the way there the ship stopped at Auckland and although he was unable to disembark at the time he evidently noted New Zealand with interest. Four years later he returned and thereafter, apart from visits back to the Punjab, New Zealand was his home.

Karam Singh Ragi is still alive and lives in Otahuhu, a suburb of Auckland. Although he remained unmarried until 1945 he did not remain alone throughout his earlier years in New Zealand. In 1925, following a return visit to the Punjab, he brought back from Herian his nephew. This was Mangal Singh, age twelve years.

Mangal Singh attended school for three years and later, at the age of 18, took up share-milking. This is a form of employment in New Zealand whereby the owner of a dairy farm lets another person operate the farm in return for a share of the profits. Soon afterwards he took up a lease and began farming on his own account. This, however, was during the early years of the 1930's slump and after a brief period he was forced to return to share-milking.

His chance came again when after a few years he was able to purchase the farm on which he had been share-milking. This was the farm near Otorohanga which he was to develop into the famous Mount Cosy stud. He had meanwhile married (he returned to the Punjab to do so in 1931) and his two sons, Nirmal Singh and Baragal Singh, later helped him in the work of building up the study. Mangal Singh also had two daughters, both of them now married to prosperous dairy farmers. The elder, Jindow, lives with her husband Baldev Singh near the town of Waihi. The younger, Jeatow, married to Harbail Singh, resides near Te Aroha.

Others have described the dedication and determination with which Mangal Singh pursued his ambition to create one of the best Jersey herds in the country. The results speak for themselves. In six successive years (1963-64 to 1968-69) the Mount Cosy herd of cows produced the best results in the entire country for herds exceeding fifty cows in size. For

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## SANGAT (HOLY CONGREGATION)

Professor Taran Singh

A sangat, holy company, is formed round the Guru alone who can dispense the Name to others. 'Eko namu hukamu hai nanak satigur dia bujhai jiu' — God has ordained man to meditate on the Name only which the Guru administers to man.

(1) Guru Amardas has said that 'without congregating one does not rise above the animal level' — 'bin sangati sabh aise rehein jaise pasu dhor.' Man is a social animal. He finds his fulfilment in a society only. He learns and unlearns in a company only. We learn through infection. In a company, man gets virtues and qualities from others by infection. This is psychological.

(2) 'A holy company is really a school,' says Guru Ramdas. His original words are: 'sat sangati satigur chatsal hai jit hari gun sikha.' A holy company is in fact the Guru's school. He imparts instruction about the true nature of the Supreme Being, Waheguru. No other discipline is higher than the discipline of sangati, holy company — 'Hair kirati sadh sangati hai sir karman kai karma.'

(3) What constitutes a sangat, a holy congregation? Guru Nanak's answer is: 'sat sangati kaisi janiai jithai eko nam vakhanai.' The holy company is that one only where the Name alone is discoursed and meditated upon. The nām includes 'hari jas,' singing the praises, katha, discoursing on the name, etc. Numbers do not matter in a holy company. Even two devotees, true seekers are enough to form a sangat. Bhai Gurdas has observed: 'ik sikh doe sadh sang panji pameshar,' one constitutes a Sikh, two form a holy company, and among the five, God Himself is present.

(4) A sangat, holy company, is formed round the Guru alone who can dispense the Name to others. 'Eko namu hukamu hai nanak satigur dia bujhai jiu' — God has ordained man to meditate on the Name only which the Guru administers to man. In fact, the guruship lies in the shabad, revelation. Thus, the shabad is the only eternal Guru. The shabad, for the Sikhs, is incorporated in the Guru Granth. So, a Sikh congregation forms itself round the Guru Granth.

This shabad, embodied, presides over all congregations.

(5) A congregational service, addressed by a sadh, a holy person, is never without its fruit. One must attend such services. If an occasion to converse with a sadhu comes in the way, full advantage of that should be taken. One should listen to the words of the sadhus, perfect men, in reverence, and learn there from. Kabir says: kabir ek ghari adhi ghari adhi hun to adh, bhagatan seti goshte jo kino so labh — 'however short time, spent in the company of holy persons, is of benefit.' Some good teaching is bound to come to the seeker.

(6) The sangat provides the disciplines of 'sundai,' hearing, and 'manai,' meditating, of the Name, and thus comes all the cultivation of the personality which has been promised in the stanzas, stairs, of the Japu and the first canto of the Sukhmani, the jewel of happiness.

The best of all the companies is the association with the holy ones wherefrom one begets love of God — 'maha pavitr sadh ka sangu, jisu bhetat lagai prabhu rangi.' In the company of the saints pride vanishes — 'sadh kai sang mitai abhimanu,' in a holy company, higher knowledge dawns upon the man — sadh kai sang pragtai sugianu; all superstitions go oft in the holy company — bhramu kati ai nanak sadh sangi; faith comes from the holy company — sat sangati mahi bisasu hoi; all desire is satiated — tikh bujhi gai mili sadh jana; sense of discrimination comes — sadh sangati mili budhi bibek; jealousy, enmity, estrangements leave a man when he joins holy company — bisari gai sabh tati parai jab te sadh sangati mohi pai, na ko bairi nahi bigana sagal sang ham ko bani ai. In short, 'utam sangati utamu hovai, gun ko dhavai avagun dhovai,' in excellent company one becomes excellent, for he goes in for the virtues and shakes off the vices.

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two of those seasons it was champion for herds of any size and during the 1964-65 season its 59 cows averaged 576 lbs. of butter-fat in 290 days. Four years later one of its cows became the New Zealand national four-year-old record holder with 1,000 gallons of milk and 1045 lbs. of butter-fat in 305 days.

Mangal Singh was thus a conspicuous success as a breeder of Jersey cows. The reports which appeared in the newspaper at the time of his death in October 1975 indicate that he was also one of the most popular and respected citizens of the Otorohanga district. 'It was a sad day for Otorohanga,' declared

the local newspaper and went on to speak of his 'wonderful stamina and patience...honesty...gentle nature...true sportsmanship.'

'To see his farms, his houses, family, herds and many other items shows the amazing qualities of this fine man, and it is now in the safe keeping of his two sons, Bargul and Nirmul, and their children to help keep the tradition set by a dedicated and hard working man.'

New Zealand newspapers do not normally praise a man in such terms, even when publishing an obituary. Mangal Singh must have been unusually skilled in the art of living.



ਪਾਤਾਲਾ<sup>11</sup> ਪਾਤਾਲ ਲਖ<sup>12</sup>  
ਆਗਾਸਾ<sup>13</sup> ਆਗਾਸ ॥

ਓੜਕ<sup>14</sup> ਓੜਕ<sup>15</sup> ਭਾਲਿ<sup>16</sup>  
ਬਕੇ<sup>17</sup> ਵੇਦ<sup>18</sup> ਕਹਨਿ<sup>19</sup>  
ਇਕ ਵਾਤ<sup>20</sup> ॥

ਸਹਿਸ<sup>21</sup> ਅਠਾਰਾ ਕਹਨਿ<sup>22</sup>  
ਕਤੋਬਾ<sup>23</sup> ਅਸੁਲੂ<sup>24</sup> ਇਕੁ  
ਧਾਤੁ<sup>25</sup> ॥

ਲੇਖਾ<sup>26</sup> ਹੋਇ<sup>30</sup> ਤ<sup>27</sup>  
ਲਿਖੀਐ<sup>31</sup> ਲੇਖੈ<sup>28</sup> ਹੋਇ  
ਵਿਠਾਸੁ<sup>29</sup> ॥

ਨਾਨਕ ਵਡਾ<sup>32</sup> ਆਖੀਐ<sup>33</sup>  
ਆਪੇ<sup>34</sup> ਜਾਣੈ ਆਪੁ<sup>35</sup> ॥੨੨॥  
ਸਾਲਾਹੀ<sup>36</sup> ਸਾਲਾਹਿ<sup>37</sup> ਏਤੀ<sup>38</sup>  
ਸੁਰਤਿ<sup>39</sup> ਨ ਪਾਈਆ<sup>40</sup> ॥  
ਨਦੀਆ<sup>41</sup> ਅਤੇ<sup>42</sup> ਵਾਹ<sup>43</sup>  
ਪਵਹਿ<sup>44</sup> ਸਮੁੰਦਿ<sup>45</sup> ਨ  
ਜਾਣੀਅਹਿ<sup>46</sup> ॥

ਸਮੁੰਦ<sup>47</sup> ਸਾਹ<sup>48</sup> ਸੁਲਤਾਨ<sup>49</sup>  
ਗਿਰਹਾ<sup>50</sup> ਸੇਤੀ<sup>51</sup> ਮਾਲੁ<sup>52</sup>  
ਧਨੁ<sup>53</sup> ॥ ਕੀੜੀ<sup>54</sup> ਤੁਲਿ<sup>55</sup> ਨ  
ਹੋਵਨੀ ਜੋ<sup>56</sup> ਤਿਸੁ<sup>57</sup> ਮਨਹੁ<sup>58</sup>  
ਨ ਵੀਸਰਹਿ<sup>59</sup> ॥੨੩॥  
ਅੰਤ<sup>60</sup> ਨ ਸਿਫਤੀ<sup>61</sup> ਕਹਣਿ<sup>62</sup>  
ਨ ਅੰਤੁ ॥  
ਅੰਤੁ ਨ<sup>63</sup> ਕਰਣੈ<sup>64</sup> ਦੇਣਿ<sup>65</sup>  
ਨ ਅੰਤੁ ॥  
ਅੰਤੁ ਨ ਵੇਖਣਿ<sup>66</sup> ਸੁਣਣਿ<sup>67</sup>  
ਨ ਅੰਤੁ ॥

There are nether<sup>11</sup> worlds below ne-  
ther worlds and lacs<sup>12</sup> of skies<sup>13</sup> over  
skies.

The scriptures<sup>18</sup> say<sup>19</sup> one thing<sup>20</sup>;  
searching<sup>16</sup> after God's limit<sup>14</sup> and  
bounds<sup>15</sup>, without success, people  
have grown weary<sup>17</sup>.

The semitic scriptures<sup>23</sup> say<sup>22</sup> that  
there are eighteen thousand<sup>21</sup> worlds,  
but in reality<sup>24</sup> there is only one  
essence<sup>25</sup>, that the Lord is limitless.

If there be<sup>30</sup> any account<sup>26</sup> of His, then<sup>27</sup>  
alone man can write<sup>31</sup> that the Lord's  
account finishes not and whilst des-  
cribing the account<sup>28</sup> man himself  
finishes<sup>29</sup>.

O Nanak ! call<sup>33</sup> Him great<sup>32</sup>.

He Himself<sup>34</sup> knows His Oneself<sup>35</sup>.

The praisers<sup>36</sup> praise<sup>37</sup> the Lord, but  
they obtain<sup>40</sup> not this much<sup>38</sup> under-  
standing<sup>39</sup> that they may know His  
greatness, as the streams<sup>41</sup> and<sup>42</sup> the  
rivers<sup>43</sup> falling<sup>44</sup> into the ocean<sup>45</sup>  
understand<sup>46</sup> not its extent.

The kings<sup>48</sup> and emperors<sup>49</sup>, with<sup>51</sup>  
oceans<sup>47</sup> and mountains<sup>50</sup> of property<sup>52</sup>  
and wealth<sup>53</sup>, equal<sup>55</sup> not an ant<sup>54</sup> if<sup>56</sup>,  
in her mind<sup>57</sup>, she<sup>59</sup> forgets<sup>58</sup> not the  
Lord.

There is no limit<sup>60</sup> to the Lord's praises<sup>61</sup>  
and there is no limit to its repeaters<sup>62</sup>.  
Limitless<sup>63</sup> are His workings<sup>64</sup> and  
limitless His givings<sup>65</sup>.

There is no limit to God's seeing<sup>66</sup>  
and no limit to His hearing<sup>67</sup>.

ਪਇਆਲਾ<sup>11</sup> ਦੇ ਹੇਠਾਂ ਪਇਆਲ ਹਨ ਅਤੇ ਲਖੂਖਾਂ<sup>12</sup>  
ਅਸਮਾਨਾਂ ਉਤੇ ਅਸਮਾਨ<sup>13</sup> ।

ਧਾਰਮਕ ਗ੍ਰੰਥ<sup>18</sup> ਇਕ ਗਲ<sup>20</sup> ਆਖਦੇ<sup>19</sup> ਹਨ; ਰਬ ਦੇ  
ਅੰਤ<sup>14</sup> ਅਤੇ ਹਦ ਬੰਨਿਆਂ<sup>15</sup> ਨੂੰ ਲਭਦੇ<sup>16</sup> ਹੋਏ,  
ਨਾਕਾਮਯਾਬ ਹੋ, ਲੋਕ ਹਾਰ ਹੁਟ ਗਏ<sup>17</sup> ਹਨ ।

ਯਹੂਦੀ, ਈਸਾਈ ਤੇ ਮੁਸਲਿਮ ਧਾਰਮਕ ਗ੍ਰੰਥ<sup>23</sup>  
ਆਖਦੇ<sup>22</sup> ਹਨ, ਕਿ ਅਠਾਰਾ ਹਜ਼ਾਰ<sup>21</sup> ਆਲਮ ਹਨ, ਪ੍ਰੰਤੂ  
ਅਸਲ ਵਿਚ<sup>24</sup> ਇਕੋ ਹੀ ਸਾਰ-ਤਤ<sup>25</sup> ਹੈ, ਕਿ ਪ੍ਰਭੂ ਬੇ-ਅੰਤ  
ਹੈ ।

ਜੇ ਕਰ ਉਸਦਾ ਕੋਈ ਹਿਸਾਬ ਕਿਤਾਬ<sup>26</sup> ਹੋਵੇ<sup>30</sup>, ਕੇਵਲ<sup>27</sup>  
ਤਾਂ ਹੀ ਇਨਸਾਨ ਉਸਨੂੰ ਲਿਖ ਸਕਦਾ<sup>31</sup> ਹੈ ਕਿ ਵਾਹਿਗੁਰੂ  
ਦਾ ਹਿਸਾਬ ਕਿਤਾਬ ਮੁਕਦਾ ਨਹੀਂ ਅਤੇ ਹਿਸਾਬ ਕਿਤਾਬ<sup>28</sup>  
ਨੂੰ ਬਿਆਨ ਕਰਦਾ ਹੋਇਆ ਇਨਸਾਨ ਖੁਦ ਹੀ ਮੁਕ<sup>29</sup>  
ਜਾਂਦਾ ਹੈ ।

ਹੇ ਨਾਨਕ ! ਉਸਨੂੰ ਵਿਸ਼ਾਲ<sup>32</sup> ਵਰਨਣ<sup>33</sup> ਕਰ ।

ਉਹ ਆਪ ਹੀ<sup>34</sup> ਆਪਣੇ ਆਪ<sup>35</sup> ਨੂੰ ਜਾਣਦਾ ਹੈ ।

ਸਲਾਘਾ ਕਰਣ ਵਾਲੇ<sup>36</sup> ਸਾਹਿਬ ਦੀ ਸਲਾਘਾ<sup>37</sup> ਕਰਦੇ  
ਹਨ, ਪਰ ਉਨ੍ਹਾਂ ਨੂੰ ਏਨੀ<sup>38</sup> ਸਮਝ<sup>39</sup> ਪਰਾਪਤ<sup>40</sup> ਨਹੀਂ  
ਹੁੰਦੀ, ਕਿ ਉਹ ਉਸਦੀ ਵਿਸ਼ਾਲਤਾ ਨੂੰ ਜਾਣ ਲੈਣ, ਜਿਸ ਤਰਾਂ  
ਸਮੁੰਦਰ<sup>45</sup> ਵਿਚ ਡਿਗਣ ਵਾਲੇ ਨਾਲੇ<sup>41</sup> ਤੇ<sup>42</sup> ਦਰਿਆ<sup>43</sup>  
ਇਸਦੇ ਵਿਸਥਾਰ ਨੂੰ ਨਹੀਂ ਸਮਝਦੇ<sup>46</sup> ।

ਜਾਇਦਾਦ<sup>52</sup> ਅਤੇ ਦੌਲਤ<sup>53</sup> ਦੇ ਸਮੁੰਦਰਾਂ<sup>57</sup> ਤੇ ਪਹਾੜਾਂ<sup>50</sup>  
ਦੇ ਸਮੇਤਿ<sup>51</sup>, ਰਾਜੇ<sup>48</sup> ਅਤੇ ਮਹਾਰਾਜੇ<sup>49</sup>, ਚੀਟੀ<sup>54</sup> ਦੇ ਬਰਾਬਰ<sup>55</sup>  
ਨਹੀਂ ਹੁੰਦੇ ਜੇਕਰ<sup>56</sup>, ਆਪਣੇ ਚਿਤ<sup>57</sup> ਅੰਦਰ,  
ਉਸ ਨੂੰ<sup>59</sup> ਪ੍ਰਭੂ ਨ ਭੁਲੇ<sup>58</sup> ।

ਸੁਆਮੀ ਦੀ ਸਿਫਤ ਸਲਾਘਾ<sup>60</sup> ਦਾ ਕੋਈ ਓੜਕ<sup>61</sup> ਨਹੀਂ  
ਤੇ ਨਾਹੀ ਓੜਕ ਹੈ ਇਸ ਦੇ ਆਖਣ ਵਾਲਿਆਂ<sup>62</sup> ਦਾ ।  
ਬੇ-ਅੰਦਾਜ਼ਾ<sup>63</sup> ਹਨ ਉਸਦੇ ਕੰਮ<sup>64</sup> ਅਤੇ ਬੇ-ਅੰਦਾਜ਼ਾ  
ਉਸ ਦੀਆਂ ਦਾਤਾਂ<sup>65</sup> ।

ਵਾਹਿਗੁਰੂ ਦੇ ਦੇਖਣ<sup>66</sup> ਦਾ ਕੋਈ ਓੜਕ ਨਹੀਂ ਅਤੇ ਨਾ ਹੀ  
ਓੜਕ ਹੈ ਉਸਦੇ ਸਰਵਣ<sup>67</sup> ਕਰਨ ਦਾ ।

The literal translation a word is given by the words with cor-  
responding numbers in the other two columns. Wherever paren-  
thesis appear, read only the contents of the first parenthesis;  
the second parenthesis gives literal meanings.



ਅੰਤੁ ਨ ਜਾਪੈ<sup>68</sup> ਕਿਆ<sup>69</sup>  
 ਮਨਿ<sup>70</sup> ਮੰਤ੍ਰ<sup>71</sup> ॥  
 ਅੰਤੁ ਨ ਜਾਪੈ<sup>72</sup> ਕੀਤਾ<sup>73</sup>  
 ਆਕਾਰੁ<sup>74</sup> ॥  
 ਅੰਤ<sup>75</sup> ਨ ਜਾਪੈ ਪਾਰਾ  
 ਵਾਰੁ<sup>76</sup> ॥  
 ਅੰਤ<sup>80</sup> ਕਾਰਣਿ<sup>77</sup> ਕੇਤੇ<sup>78</sup>  
 ਬਿਲਲਾਹਿ<sup>79</sup> ॥ ਤਾ<sup>81</sup> ਕੇ  
 ਅੰਤ ਨ ਪਾਏ<sup>82</sup> ਜਾਹਿ ॥  
 ਏਹੁ ਅੰਤੁ<sup>83</sup> ਨ ਜਾਣੈ ਕੋਇ ॥  
 ਬਹੁਤਾ<sup>84</sup> ਕਹੀਐ<sup>85</sup> ਬਹੁਤਾ  
 ਹੋਇ ॥<sup>86</sup>  
 ਵਡਾ<sup>89</sup> ਸਾਹਿਬੁ ਉਚਾ<sup>87</sup>  
 ਥਾਉ<sup>88</sup> ॥  
 ਉਚੈ<sup>90</sup> ਉਪਰਿ<sup>91</sup> ਉਚਾ<sup>92</sup>  
 ਨਾਉ<sup>93</sup> ॥  
 ਏਵਡੁ<sup>94</sup> ਉਚਾ ਹੋਵੈ ਕੋਇ<sup>95</sup> ॥  
 ਤਿਸੁ<sup>93</sup> ਉਚੈ<sup>98</sup> ਕਉ ਜਾਣੈ  
 ਸੋਇ<sup>97</sup> ॥  
 ਜੇਵਡੁ<sup>99</sup> ਆਪਿ<sup>100</sup> ਜਾਣੈ  
 ਆਪਿ ਆਪਿ<sup>2</sup> ॥  
 ਨਾਨਕ ਨਦਰੀ<sup>3</sup> ਕਰਮੀ<sup>4</sup>  
 ਦਾਤਿ<sup>5</sup> ॥੨੪॥  
 ਬਹੁਤਾ<sup>6</sup> ਕਰਮੁ<sup>7</sup> ਲਿਖਿਆ  
 ਨ ਜਾਇ ॥  
 ਵਡਾ<sup>8</sup> ਦਾਤਾ<sup>9</sup> ਤਿਲੁ<sup>10</sup> ਨ  
 ਤਮਾਇ<sup>11</sup> ॥  
 ਕੇਤੇ<sup>12</sup> ਮੰਗਹਿ<sup>13</sup> ਜੋਧ<sup>14</sup>  
 ਅਪਾਰ<sup>15</sup> ॥  
 ਕੋਤਿਆ<sup>16</sup> ਗਣਤ<sup>17</sup> ਨਹੀ<sup>18</sup>  
 ਵੀਚਾਰੁ<sup>19</sup> ॥  
 ਕੇਤੇ ਖਪਿ<sup>20</sup> ਤੁਟਹਿ<sup>21</sup>  
 ਵੇਕਾਰ<sup>22</sup> ॥  
 ਕੇਤੇ<sup>23</sup> ਲੈ ਲੈ<sup>24</sup> ਮੁਕਰੁ<sup>25</sup>  
 ਪਾਹਿ ॥

What<sup>69</sup> is the Lord's mind's<sup>70</sup>  
 motive<sup>71</sup>? It's limit is not known<sup>68</sup>.  
 The limit of His created<sup>73</sup> creation<sup>74</sup>  
 is not discerned<sup>72</sup>.  
 The bound<sup>75</sup> of His this and yonder<sup>76</sup>  
 end is not known.  
 Good many<sup>78</sup> bewail<sup>79</sup> for knowing  
 His bounds<sup>80</sup> but His<sup>81</sup> limits are  
 not found<sup>82</sup>.  
 This limit<sup>83</sup> none can know.  
 The more<sup>84</sup> we describe, the more  
 obscure He becomes<sup>86</sup>.  
 Great<sup>89</sup> is the Lord and high His  
 seat<sup>88</sup>.  
 His Name<sup>93</sup> is the highest<sup>92</sup> (of) or  
 (over<sup>91</sup>) the high<sup>90</sup>.  
 If any one<sup>95</sup> be as great high<sup>94</sup> as He  
 is, then alone he<sup>97</sup> would know that<sup>98</sup>  
 Lofty Being<sup>99</sup>.  
 How great<sup>99</sup> He<sup>100</sup> is, He Himself<sup>2</sup>  
 knows.  
 O Nanak ! the compassionate Lord<sup>3</sup>  
 by His grace<sup>4</sup> bestows gifts<sup>5</sup>.  
 Good many<sup>6</sup> are His bounties<sup>7</sup>,  
 these can not be recorded.  
 He is the great<sup>8</sup> Giver<sup>9</sup> and has not  
 even an iota<sup>10</sup> of avarice<sup>11</sup>.  
 The multitudes<sup>12</sup> of warriors<sup>14</sup> beg at<sup>13</sup>  
 the door of the Infinite Lord<sup>15</sup>.  
 Good many<sup>16</sup>, beyonded<sup>18</sup> reckoning<sup>17</sup>,  
 ponder<sup>19</sup> over Him.  
 Many pine away<sup>20</sup> to extinction<sup>21</sup> in  
 wickedness.<sup>22</sup>  
 Some<sup>23</sup> continually take<sup>24</sup> gifts and  
 yet deny<sup>25</sup> them.

ਸਾਹਿਬ ਦੇ ਦਿਲ<sup>70</sup> ਦਾ ਕੀ<sup>69</sup> ਮਨੋਰਥ<sup>71</sup> ਹੈ ? ਇਸਦਾ  
 ਓੜਕ ਜਾਣਿਆ<sup>68</sup> ਨਹੀਂ ਜਾਂਦਾ ।  
 ਉਸਦੀ ਰਚੀ<sup>73</sup> ਹੋਈ ਰਚਨਾ<sup>74</sup> ਦਾ ਓੜਕ ਮਲੂਮ<sup>72</sup> ਨਹੀਂ  
 ਹੁੰਦਾ ।  
 ਉਸਦੇ ਇਸ ਤੇ ਉਸ ਕਿਨਾਰੇ<sup>75</sup> ਦਾ ਥਹੁ ਪਤਾ<sup>76</sup> ਜਾਣਿਆ  
 ਨਹੀਂ ਜਾਂਦਾ ।  
 ਉਸਦਾ ਹਦ-ਬੰਨਾ<sup>80</sup> ਜਾਣਨ ਲਈ<sup>77</sup> ਘਨੇਰੇ<sup>78</sup> ਵਿਰਲਾਪ<sup>79</sup>  
 ਕਰਦੇ ਹਨ ਪ੍ਰੰਤੂ ਉਸਦੇ ਓੜਕਾਂ<sup>81</sup> ਦਾ ਪਤਾ<sup>82</sup> ਨਹੀਂ  
 ਲਗਦਾ ।  
 ਇਸ ਪਾਰਾਵਾਰ<sup>83</sup> ਨੂੰ ਕੋਈ ਨਹੀਂ ਜਾਣ ਸਕਦਾ ।  
 ਜਿੰਨਾ ਵਧੇਰਾ<sup>84</sup> ਅਸੀਂ ਬਿਆਨ<sup>85</sup> ਕਰਦੇ ਹਾਂ, ਓਨਾ  
 ਵਧੇਰੇ ਅਪਰਸਿਧ ਉਹ ਹੋ ਜਾਂਦਾ<sup>86</sup> ਹੈ ।  
 ਵਿਸ਼ਾਲ<sup>89</sup> ਹੈ ਸੁਆਮੀ ਅਤੇ ਬੁਲੰਦ<sup>87</sup> ਉਸ ਦਾ ਆਸਣ<sup>88</sup> ।  
 ਉਸਦਾ ਨਾਮ<sup>93</sup> ਉਚਿਆ<sup>90</sup> (ਤੋਂ) ਜਾਂ (ਉਤੇ<sup>91</sup>) ਮਹਾਨ  
 ਉੱਚਾ<sup>92</sup> ਹੈ ।  
 ਜੇਕਰ ਕੋਈ ਜਣਾ<sup>95</sup> ਐਡਾ ਵਡਾ<sup>94</sup> ਉੱਚਾ ਹੋਵੇ, ਜਿੱਡਾ  
 ਉਹ ਹੈ, ਤਦ ਉਹ<sup>97</sup> ਉਸ<sup>98</sup> ਪੁਰਖ<sup>99</sup> ਨੂੰ ਜਾਣ  
 ਲਵੇਗਾ ।  
 ਉਹ<sup>100</sup> ਕਿੱਡਾ ਵੱਡਾ<sup>99</sup> ਹੈ, ਉਹ ਖੁਦ<sup>2</sup> ਹੀ ਜਾਣਦਾ ਹੈ ।  
 ਹੇ ਨਾਨਕ ! ਕਿਪਾਲੂ ਪ੍ਰਭੂ<sup>3</sup> ਆਪਣੀ ਦਇਆ<sup>4</sup> ਦੁਆਰਾ  
 ਬਖਸ਼ੀਸ਼ਾਂ<sup>5</sup> ਬਖਸ਼ਦਾ ਹੈ ।  
 ਘਨੇਰੀਆਂ<sup>6</sup> ਹਨ ਉਸ ਦੀਆਂ ਬਖਸ਼ਿਸ਼ਾਂ<sup>7</sup>, ਇਹ ਲਿਖੀਆਂ  
 ਨਹੀਂ ਜਾ ਸਕਦੀਆਂ ।  
 ਉਹ ਭਾਰਾ<sup>8</sup> ਦਾਤਾਰ<sup>9</sup> ਹੈ ਅਤੇ ਉਸਨੂੰ ਭੋਰਾ<sup>10</sup> ਭੀ ਤਮਾ<sup>11</sup>  
 ਨਹੀਂ ।  
 ਸੂਰਮਿਆਂ<sup>12</sup> ਦੇ ਸਮੁਦਾਇ<sup>14</sup> ਬੇ-ਅੰਤ ਸਾਹਿਬ<sup>15</sup> ਦੇ ਦਰ  
 ਤੇ ਖੈਰ ਮੰਗਦੇ<sup>13</sup> ਹਨ ।  
 ਘਣੇ ਹੀ<sup>16</sup> ਗਿਣਤੀ<sup>17</sup> ਤੋਂ ਬਾਹਰ<sup>18</sup> ਉਸਨੂੰ ਸੋਚਦੇ ਸਮਝਦੇ<sup>19</sup>  
 ਹਨ ।  
 ਬਹੁਤੇ ਵੈਲ<sup>20</sup> ਅੰਦਰ ਖੁਰ ਕੇ<sup>21</sup> ਖਤਮ<sup>22</sup> ਹੋ ਜਾਂਦੇ ਹਨ ।  
 ਕਈ<sup>23</sup> ਲਗਾਤਾਰ<sup>24</sup> ਦਾਤਾਂ ਲੈਂਦੇ ਹਨ ਅਤੇ ਤਾਂ ਭੀ ਉਨ੍ਹਾਂ  
 ਤੋਂ ਮਨੁਕਰ<sup>25</sup> ਹੋ ਜਾਂਦੇ ਹਨ ।

## A BRIEF SURVEY OF SIKH THEOLOGICAL STUDIES

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This article attempts to survey briefly the work done in the Sikh theological studies. It aims at sketching out a simple outline of the stages of Sikh theological writings with brief notes on the basic nature of important works attempted during these stages. The survey deals with the works in two separate parts: one dealing with the writings of Indian origins and the other dealing with Western works attempted in the Sikh theological studies. In each part the study makes a review of the literature and writers on chronological basis.

As we proceed, we must notice a fact that until the middle of the twentieth century we do not find much scholarly and systematic work done exclusively on Sikh theology. There is a basic reason for this lack of exclusive attention given to Sikh theological studies. It lies in the late origin of Sikhism itself.<sup>1</sup> Sikhism has not yet completed three hundred years after the death of its last Guru.<sup>2</sup> Obviously within this small period of time, all its energies and interest have naturally and primarily been devoted and directed towards building up of its entity and organizing structures.<sup>3</sup> For that reason a theological and scholarly study in Sikhism could not secure full attention.<sup>4</sup>

Sikhism saw many ups and downs, persecutions and attacks, apostasies and heresies during the course of its history. It once seemed to be 'a waning religion',<sup>5</sup> a religion 'on the decline'.<sup>6</sup> But, in spite of all such trials and tribulations, Sikhism steered its way to be an ineluctable religious entity.<sup>7</sup> It is remarkable to note that "from the moment of its initiation by Guru Nanak to its ritual consecration by the Tenth Master, Guru Gobind Singh, a period of barely 200 years, Sikhism acquired not only its distinctive church and institutions, songs and scriptures, signs and symbols, but also, an unmistakable form or stance".<sup>8</sup>

Though Sikhism contains all the features and contents of being called a distinct religion, it did not develop a very sustained and systematic theology. An organized attention has not been directed to dogmatize the concepts and ideas enunciated in the Guru Granth. So there is hardly any such thing as formulated or dogmatic theology in the Sikh religion.<sup>9</sup> For this, there could, perhaps, be another reason also. It seems that the Sikh Gurus did not have any particular aim or interest in propounding any dogmatic theology.<sup>10</sup> But this does not mean that Sikhism does not have any systematic theology at all. It does have, but it lies in an implicit manner in the religious literature of Sikhism. And this literature needs to be searched and explored to bring out a systematic outline of Sikh theological studies concepts.

The history of Sikh theology is the history of individual interpretations of Sikh theological concepts and ideas present in Sikh religious writings. Therefore the survey of Sikh theological studies includes in its scope the writings dealing with Sikh religion in general. It is to be noted that the dominating note of these religious writings has been historical and biographical.

This historical and biographical approach to Sikh studies has been very prevalent throughout the whole period of Sikh history, and particularly it dominated the early phase of Sikh writings.

### Part I Writings of Indian Origins

#### (a) Early Stage: 1604-1708

The first stage of Sikh theological writings begins after the compilation of the Guru Granth in 1604 and ends with the death of Guru Gobind Singh in 1708. The early writings which began to evolve just after the compilation of the Guru Granth were characterised primarily with legendary material and mythical elements.<sup>11</sup> Even the biographical stories were more interested in miraculous and supernatural aspects of important lives, particularly that of Gurus. These tendencies have been a common feature in the *Janam Sakhi*, the earliest known work<sup>12</sup> after the compilation of the Guru Granth. However, *Meharban Janam Sakhi* seems to reflect a little philosophical bent, and makes a little rudimentary study of Sikh theological ideas. The primary nature of this work is biographical.

Among the earliest works which attract our interest are the writings of Bhai Gurdas (1543-1630) — *Varan* and *Kabbir Sawwaye* (1629) — which reflect his deep philosophical and theological interest and learning. He was a scribe to Guru Arjan Dev who compiled the Guru Granth. His works are interpretative and expository in nature<sup>13</sup> and also described as "the key to the scripture".<sup>14</sup> In his expositions he has attempted to analyze the Sikh teachings on the basis of Granth Sahib.<sup>15</sup> According to Trilochan Singh, "Bhai Gurdas' approach to Sikh theology was rational and philosophical in his *Vars* and mystical in his *Kabit Swayyas*".<sup>16</sup> As a matter of fact in him we find a first theologian of Sikh Religion. Professor Sher Singh remarks "Bhai Gurdas' work is, in fact an orthodox analysis of Sikh beliefs."<sup>17</sup> Thus signifying his place in Sikh religion, Macauliffe calls him the St. Paul of Sikhism.<sup>18</sup>

His main theological contribution stems out of his views of Guru and nature of Reality. He was so attracted by the personality of Guru that the primary purpose of his work seems to exalt and praise the

Guru to the highest level of idealization.<sup>19</sup> He compared the Guru to the sun.<sup>20</sup> In his theology of guru-ship he transcends Guru even to a level of God also. He can be regarded as the pioneer exponent of theology of Guruship.

About the nature of Reality, he emphasized non-dualism: that Reality is one. He identified the Reality with *Braham* or God, and thus advocated a strong monotheism through his studies.

It is in Guru Gobind Singh (1666-1708) that we find the next important figure of early Sikhism. He comes tenth and the last in the series of Sikh Gurus. *Dasam Granth*, though its authorship as one-man's work is still a controversial issue,<sup>21</sup> it is commonly known as a whole work of Guru Gobind Singh. *Dasam Granth* is occupied with two main themes: God and Sword became interchangeable terms.<sup>22</sup> His theology of Sword purports a theology of power or *shakti*, the use of which he justifies against injustice and crime. He also defines God through the use of negative terms and thereby propounds transcendentalism in Sikh theology.

#### (b) *Middle Stage* (1708-Ends of 19th Century)

With the death of Guru Gobind Singh an era of Gurus ended and we enter into another phase of Sikh religious writing which continued till the end of nineteenth century. It is in this period that the two Schools of Sikh theological studies, viz., *Nirmala* and *Giani* originated and remained influential till the end of the century. But because of its hinduistic inclination as well as unwillingness to publish and sell its literature, the Nirmala School began to decline.

The Nirmalas were good scholars orientated in the Indian philosophical systems and learnings, particularly in the Vedantic philosophy. So, they used to interpret the Sikh religious concepts in the light of their philosophical learning and orientation. The scholars of this school were also known as the Sikh Vedantins. The Giani school of Sikh theology concentrated its study mainly on the works of expository nature. The Gianis were rather preachers than philosophers in matters of interpreting and explaining the theological concepts envisaged in the *Guru Granth*. Their works are found mostly in the form of commentaries and exegeses of the scriptural text.

Pioneer in this period is the name of Bhai Mani Singh who having been trained by Guru Gobind Singh himself, started the school of Giani tradition. His work *Gian Ratanavali* appeared in the middle of eighteenth century. Later on this work is regarded as *Janam Sakhi*. It is full of biographical accounts and historical descriptions, and is very less purportive to the theological ideas. Following it there appeared other religious works by Bhallas. The "*Mahima Prakash Vartak* (prose) was written by Kirpal Singh Bhalla in 1741 and *Mahima Prakash Kavita* (verse) by Sarup Dass Bhalla in 1776. Each contains accounts of the lives of all the Gurus."<sup>23</sup>

Next comes Gulab Singh whose writings *Bhavar-smrit* (1777), *Mokh Panth* (1778), *Adhayatam Ramayan* (1782), and *Parbodhehandra Natak* (1792) reflect his Vedantic outlook.<sup>24</sup> He belongs to the Nirmala school of Sikh theology.<sup>25</sup> Coming in the same Nirmala tradition is the name of Ghai Santokh Singh.<sup>26</sup> His works *Guru Nanak Parkash* (1823) and *Gurpartap Surya* (1843) are biographical in content and subject matter. However, his *Garb Ganjani Tika* (1829) is a work written in a commentary form and presents an exposition of Sikh religious ideas.

It is towards the end of nineteenth century an interest began to take place in the studies of religious ideas of the *Guru Granth*. The literature dealing with the philosophy and other concepts of Sikh religion began to develop through prominent Sikh writers. Pioneer among them were Pandit Sadhu Singh (1840-1907) and Pandit Tara Singh Narotam, both of them belonged to the Nirmala school of Sikh Learning. Their works occupy a significant place in Sikh theology.<sup>27</sup> *Gursikhia Parbhakar* and *Shri Mukhwak Sidhant* by Sadhu Singh describe general teachings, principles and ideas of Sikhism with philosophical meaning. Pandit Tara Singh Narotam wrote many books. Most of them are commentaries.<sup>28</sup> It is his *Gurmat Nirnai Sagar* (1877) which attempts to reveal his theological interest in the Studies of Sikhism.

Next comes Gyani Gian Singh whose important works such as *Pothi Sri Guru Panth Prakash* (1880) and *Twarikh Guru Khalsa* (1892) deal mainly with biographical and historical accounts of The Sikh Gurus and the Sikh church. However, his *Amrit Parkash* (1898) is a specific work on the theology of the Sacrament of Sikh Baptism. Similarly Pandit Bhanu Datt's writings<sup>29</sup> reveal biographical and historical accounts of the Gurus and the Sikh history. All these writings make a descriptive study of Sikhism.

In the same period we meet an other important Sikh writer in the person of Avtar Singh. He is rather theological in his approach of study. His works *Sikkhi Dharam* (1894), *Khalsa Dharam Shastar* (1894), *Sikh Dharm Tatdarshan* (1899), *Khalsa Dharam Darpan* (1910) and *Guardarshan Shastar* (1916) explain at length the general principles and teachings of Sikh faith. The religious rites and customs of Sikhism are also discussed in these works. The general nature of these writings is philosophical.

The philosophical trend in the study of Sikh religion is further maintained in the works such as *Khalsa Dharm* (1889) and *Khalsa Dharm Darpan* (1898) by Bhai Maiya Singh and Ghai Attar Singh respectively. These are interpretative and expository books on Sikh religious principles and ideas. It is in the *Sri Gurmat Mandan* (1898) by Bhai Hira Singh that "a survey of Sikh history and theology"<sup>30</sup> is made.

The general nature of the works during this whole period of middle age has remained biographical as well as exegetical and expository. However, the treat-



ment made to the religious subjects is rather over-toned with philosophical meanings. The works generally contain a discussion on the general principles, teachings, rituals and common beliefs of Sikhism. The theological ideas and concepts such as God, salvation, creation, Karma, Hukam, Guru and so on, are discussed very implicitly in the exegeses, expositions and commentaries of the Scriptures as well as in the writings of Philosophical nature. Among the theological concepts discussed in these works, the concept of God occupied the central theme. It seems that during this period the study of Sikh theological concepts and doctrines has not fully emerged and developed as an independent subject of writings. The conceptual themes are studied in the general study of Sikhism in these writings.

#### (c) MODERN AGE: Twentieth Century

In Bhai Kahan Singh of Nabha we find a connecting link between the nineteenth and twentieth century study of Sikhism at a scholarly and an academic level. He was an eminent Sikh scholar of his time who made undeniably an important contribution to Sikh theological studies.<sup>31</sup> His works *Gurmat Parbhakar* (1893), *Gurmat Sudhakar* (1898), *Gurhand Divakar* (1914), *Sikhi Marg* and *Gurshabad Ratnankar* (1930) reflect a great devotion, industry, labour and literary endeavour. Though "These books are more of the nature of indexes than a synthetic study of Sikh theology,"<sup>32</sup> they laid down a significant basis and ground for further research work of a scholarly nature. Besides giving a scholarly information on various themes and subjects of Sikh religion, Kahan Singh has, in his studies, tried to indicate that the Sikh theological concepts are distinct in their own right. He was primarily an apologetic. *Ham Hindu Nahin* is a notable example of his apologetic work.

Contemporary to Bhai Kahan Singh, we meet another noted Sikh scholar in the person of Bhai Vir Singh. He has made a significant contribution to the field of Sikh religion and Punjabi literature. In the field of religious studies he has mostly done the work of editing and systematizing the materials and the works which were already existing.<sup>33</sup> He produced splendid exegetical literature including commentaries with annotated explanations on the Guru Granth text. He seems to have revived the Giani tradition of the Sikh theological studies through his works. Sahib Singh<sup>34</sup> who has done the similar work of the nature of commentary and exegesis comes in the same tradition of Giani school of learning.

It is with Bhai Jodh Singh that we enter upon the twentieth century theological study of Sikhism. He is described as "the veteran scholar and Sikh theologian."<sup>35</sup> In fact he is the pioneer theologian of modern times who attempted to explain Sikh theological concepts and doctrines in a rather systematic and scholarly manner. Besides biographical works to his credit, he wrote a good deal on Sikh theology.

The works such as *Vyakhnam Sikh Dharm Par* (1911), *Sikhi Ki Hai* (1911), *Religion and Religious Life as Conceived by Guru Nanak* (1925), *Gurmat Nirmai* (1932), *Some Studies in Sikhism* (1953), *Teachings of Guru Nanak* (1959) and *Gospel of Guru Nanak* (1969) reflect his scholarship and learning on the Sikh theological studies. At various places he has specifically discussed the theological doctrines such as God, creation, man and Guru etc., in his writings. His treatment of the Sikh theology of Yoga is a remarkable contribution to the Sikh theological thoughts. His other writings<sup>36</sup> make an important addition to the scholarly studies of the Sikh Scriptures.

There is one basic thing to be noted in Bhai Jodh Singh's writings. It is his apologetic approach to the subject of Sikh studies. He seems to be more emphatic on pointing out the distinct individuality of the Sikh religion and its theology against the background of attacking views that Sikhism was a part of Hinduism. *Guru Sahib Ate Ved* (1911) is a significant work in this direction.

The beginning two decades of the twentieth century produced an enormous literature on Sikh Religion. Some of the works reflected evangelistic and exegetical nature, and some dealt with biographies and histories of Gurus, Saints and other important lives in the Sikh tradition. The writings which dealt with religious themes and ideas were mostly dominated with apologetic and even polemical outlook.<sup>37</sup> The natural reason for such an outlook lies in the circumstances and conditions with which Sikhism was confronted in the beginning period of the twentieth century. Sikhism was under severe attacks and criticisms brought over it mostly by Hindus who were trying to establish that the Sikhs were either Hindus or a part of Hindu tradition. In order to defend their faith as well as to establish their distinct entity and religion, the Sikhs were writing such apologetical literature. And some of the writers even went to an extent of being polemic in their attitude.

A very few writings could devote an attention on the theological side of the Sikh faith. But by and large the basic nature of these writings still remained apologetic. In this direction the works such as *Gurmat Sambandhi Vayakhan* (1904) and *Gurmat Itihas Guru Khalsa* (1911) of Gyani Sardul Singh and Bhai Labh Singh respectively, make big essays on Sikh theology and on the development of Sikh faith. Bawa Chhajju Singh in his *The Ten Gurus and Their Teachings* (1903) studies the basic theological ideas of Sikh religion. Sewa Ram Singh's *A Critical Study of the Life and Teachings of Sri Guru Nanak Dev* (1904) and *Amrit* (1913) are the works of the similar nature. In the same manner Sampuran Singh in his work *Gurmat Sidhant Biyora* (1913) elucidates the Sikh principles and teachings. But all these works could not make out specific and systematic study of

Sikh theological ideas, and also could not detach themselves from apologetic outlook.

It is Principal Teja Singh who initiated an academic and scholarly interest in Sikh religious studies. His works<sup>38</sup> are the significant pieces of writings covering a wide range of subjects on Sikh religion and theology. Theology of Nam, God and revelation are his important contribution to Sikh theological studies.

Another important attempt of the scholarly nature was made by Khazan Singh in his *History and Philosophy of the Sikhs* (1914). In the second part of this book he discusses the Sikh theological concepts such as God, worship, transmigration, soul, Guru, Khalsa and so forth in a rather lucid manner. He explains these concepts with philosophical connotations and meanings.

This aroused a scholarly and philosophical interest in the study of Sikh religion. And as such the philosophy of Sikh religion began to secure a central concern in the Sikh religious writings. Attracted with this trend Sardul Singh Kaveeshar wrote *The Sikh Studies* (1937) and *Sikh Dharam Darshan*; and Sher Singh Kashmir wrote *Atam Darshan* and *Vahe Guru Darshan* (1946) through which he made a significant contribution to the doctrines of Homa and Hukam. Among the writings of this nature the work of Dr. Sher Singh, entitled *Philosophy of Sikhism* (1944) occupies an outstanding place in the Sikh religious readings. It is a scholarly and standard work on the philosophy of Sikh religion. The theology of Vismad which forms the central theme of his writing is a unique contribution to the Sikh theological studies.

Expressing the theological nature the writings of Bhai Randhir Singh are very significant. In his works<sup>39</sup> he has attempted a very serious study of Sikh theological ideas and practices. His special contribution comes from his studies on the theology of meditation. Kapur Singh's *Parasharprasana or the Baisakhi of Guru Gobind Singh* (1959) is another significant work of a biographical and a theological nature.

Now we have noticed that towards the middle of twentieth century a change in the nature of writings became more apparent. From exegetical and evangelical nature it grew more scholarly and academic. From apologetical and polemical stress it turned to be more philosophical and theological, more critical and objective. Doctrinal and conceptual themes also became the central interest of the Sikh theological studies.

It is in the last decade that we witness a great revolution in Sikh writings. During this period Sikhism attracted a wide interest in its studies. A great amount of scholarly literature came out from the pen of noted Sikh scholars. This may be on account of two major events of Guru Gobind Singh's Tercentenary celebration in 1966 and Guru Nanak's 500th birth anniversary in 1969 that Sikhism excited a wide interest in its studies. It also attracted an attention of the people of scholarly and academic career.

As a result a learned study of Sikhism emerged in these last few years. The literature produced during this period touched various aspects of Sikhism such as biography, history, philosophy, sociology, polity, art, culture, poetry, literature, religion, theology and so on and so forth.

The modern or current theological study of the Sikh faith assumed a more systematic shape and grew more advanced, detached, and impartial than that of its previous nature. Some of the writers even attempted a critical study of the Sikh scriptures and its tenets. Theological doctrines and ideas were given re-thinking and re-examination in some of the works during this period.

In this direction Narain Singh made a remarkable contribution. *Our Heritage* (1967), *Guru Nanak-Re-interpreted* (1965), *Guru Nanak's View of Life* (1965) are his standard writings of theological nature. His theology of Guruship marks a peculiar place as the same seems to be a remarkable re-interpretation and renovation of the traditional theology of Guruship. He explains the identification between God and Guru on spiritual and on ontological levels, and does not define Guru on panegyric basis.

A critical attempt to define and outline the various important theological concepts of Sikh religion has been made by Surender Singh Kohli in his works, *A Critical Study of Adi Granth* (1961), *Outlines of The Sikh Thought* (1966) and *Philosophy of Guru Nanak* (1969).

An article "Theological Concepts of Sikhism" as well as a small book entitled *Guru Nanak's Religion: A Comparative Study of Religions* (1969) by Trilochan Singh make a specific essay on Sikh theology. Here he has tried to systematize in much clearly defined meanings some of the important doctrines and concepts of Sikh theology.

Keeping in line with the nature of these above mentioned writings of this period there appeared other important works such as *The Heritage of the Sikh* (1964) and *Guru Nanak and Origins of the Sikh Faith* (1969) by Harbans Singh, *Guru Nanak Darshan* (1965) by Kala Singh Bedi, *Guru Nanak Chintan te Kala* (1967) and *Tap: Darshan Deedar* (1969) by Taran Singh, *Gurmat Vichardhara* (1969) by Bhagat Singh Hiara, *Sidhant Guru Nanak* (1969) by Sant Atam Singh, *The Philosophy of Guru Nanak: A Comparative Study* (1969) by Ishar Singh, *Aspects of Guru Nanak's Philosophy* (1969) and *Guru Nanak Sidhant* (1969) by Wazir Singh, *The Sikh Way of Life* (1968) by Raghbir Singh, *The Religion of the Sikhs* (1971) by Gopal Singh, *Guru Nanak and the Logos of Divine Manifestation* (1969) by Sharad Chandra Verma, *Sri Guru Granth Darshan* (1960) and *Guru Nanak Dev: Jiwan Aur Darshan* (1972) by Jaya Ram Misra and *Guru Nanak Vichar Adhyan* (1969) and *Trinity of Sikhism* (1972) by Preetam Singh. These works make a learned study of Sikh philosophy, religion and theology, and bring Sikh theology to a

systematic level. These writings are more academic and more detached from apologetic bias and prejudice, and make a real modern literary treasure on Sikh theology covering a vast studies of Sikh doctrines and concepts. A serious exploration in the foundation of Sikh faith seems to have been made during this last period.

A treatment to the mystic outlook of Guru Nanak has been attempted by Darshan Singh and Gurbachan Singh Talib in their works, *The Religion of Guru Nanak* (1970) and *Guru Nanak, His Personality and Vision* (1969) respectively. Mysticism of Guru Nanak has been an ignored aspect in the philosophical and theological studies of Sikhism. Their attempt in this direction marks a unique feature in Sikh studies.

On the study of Sikh ethics, Dr. Avtar Singh's *Ethics of the Sikhs* owes a credit of being called the sole work in this direction.

A very careful and a systematic study of Sikh theology has been attempted by Rattan Singh Jaggi in his work *Guru Nanak Ki Vichardhara* (1969). This is a study which explores the very basis of Sikhism and examines its theological tenets with a critical and academic perspective.

The latest publication, *Perspectives on Guru Nanak* (1975) edited by a noted Sikh scholar, Professor Harbans Singh,<sup>40</sup> is an outstanding scholarly effort to study the basis and the nature of the Sikh faith from various levels of dimensions. It attempts to sketch out a complete view of the basic beliefs of the Sikhs as propounded by its founder, Guru Nanak. A parallel to this work is a publication *Sikh Falsafe di Rup Rekha* (1975) edited by Preetam Singh. It contains articles on several Sikh theological concepts and doctrines written by different Sikh scholars. This work can be attributed as an exclusive and very systematic attempt on Sikh theology.

## Part II Western Study

Among the Western scholars, we find a very few who took interest in the theological studies of Sikhism. Most of the works are seized with an interest to trace the history of the Sikhs than to explore their religious system and the basis of their beliefs.

The Western study of the Sikhs is initiated by Major James Browne who translated a manuscript on Sikh history into English and published the same under the title *History of the Origin and Progress of the Sicks* (1788).<sup>41</sup> This is followed impetuously by other original writings of the Western writers. But these were only elementary books on the Sikhs. It is J. D. Cunningham who attempted "the first serious study of the Sikhs" in his *History of the Sikhs* (1849).<sup>42</sup> The main concentration of all these writings centered round the general history of the Sikhs.

A study of the religious history and the religious systems of the Sikhs was first introduced by John Malcolm in his *Sketch of the Sikhs* (1810).<sup>43</sup> Besides

narrating biographical and historical accounts this work speaks on the general nature of the Sikh religion. It assesses the contents of the Guru Granth in these words, "These are all in praise of the deity, of religion, and of virtue; and against impiety, "and immorality."<sup>44</sup>

Based on Malcolm's "Sketch", H. H. Wilson attempted a religious study of the Sikhs in his article *Civil and Religious Institutions of the Sikhs* (1848).<sup>45</sup> It is simply a narrative and descriptive account of the lives of the Gurus and of the elementary nature of the Sikh religion. The work suffers from the weakness of the author's inadequate knowledge and understanding of the Sikh faith, and as such presents a rather crude study of the Sikh religion. At various places the writer makes also derogatory remarks on the Guru Granth as well as on the Sikh religion itself.<sup>46</sup>

It is Trumpp, a German missionary, who expressed a keen interest in the study of Sikh scriptures, religion and theology. He did a partial translation of the *The adi Granth* (1877). His other findings and research studies, which are included in the preceding pages of the translation, attempt to explain a few Sikh theological ideas. But like Wilson, Trumpp also showed offensive and derogatory attitude in his studies.

"The next serious attempt was that of Mr. Macauliffe".<sup>47</sup> His monumental work *The Sikh Religion* was published in 1909. Besides rendering an English version of the Guru Granth, he has also discussed a few theological concepts, particularly the concepts of God, Guru and Nirvan which form the central theme of his observations in Sikh studies. But "it is with regard to Sikh ethics that Macauliffe makes his greatest contribution."<sup>48</sup> Based on Macauliffe's work, Dorothy Field showed her theological interest in Sikhism in her writing *The Religion of the Sikhs* (1914).

Reflecting some religious interest in Sikh studies there appeared other works by scholars like Barth, Carpenter, Bloomfield, Macnicol and Widgery. But "none of these works satisfied the philosophic instinct of a critic."<sup>49</sup>

*Sikhism* an article by Frederick Pincott, published in 1901, deserves to be called the work of a real theological study of the Sikh faith. The article is a brief essay studying the basic religious ideas and concepts of Sikhism in the light of his investigation of the religious and philosophical background of the Sikh religion. The nature of his study can be best judged from the statement he made in his work, "such was the philosophical basis of Sikhism; and we will now give our attention to the history of the creed, and to the changes which time wrought on this earliest form of faith."<sup>50</sup> Somewhat similar trend was shown by E. Guilford in his small work *Sikhism* (1915).

Towards the middle of the twentieth century the works of two important writers, John Clark Archer



and Duncan Greenless, showed an intimate study of Sikh religion. *The Sikhs in Relation to Hindus, Moslems, Christians and Ahmadiyyas: A Study on Comparative Religion*, (1946) by Archer provides a big survey of Sikh history, general nature of the Sikh religion and its comparative position. A brief study of Sikh theology which he makes out in the last portion of his work mainly concentrates on the ideas of God and Guru. Like Wilson and Trumpp, Archer too could not detach himself from his derogatory and unappreciative outlook towards Sikhism. It is *The Gospel of Guru Granth Sahib* (1952) by Greenless, which makes a simple description of theological ideas of Sikhism.

Of the latest western scholars C. H. Loehlin occupies an important place in Sikh studies. His works, *The Sikhs and Their Scripture* (1958), *The Christian Approach to the Sikh* (1966) and *The Granth of Guru Gobind Singh and The Khalsa Brotherhood* (1971), reflect his deep study of the scripture, and the religion of the Sikhs. He deals with the religious themes of Sikhism in a general manner.

A close perusal of the above described Western works will show that God and Guru have been the central themes of the Western theological studies of Sikhism. The theological aspect of Sikh studies still lacks determinate and concentrated attention of the Western Scholars. The general nature of their study of the Sikh religion is rather peripheral than being deep and philosophical. Professor Harbans Singh remarks, "There has been some writing by foreigners, but this is by and large peripheral—inspired more by curiosity about the Sikhs as a people than by a desire to probe the spiritual and philosophical basis of their inspiration."<sup>51</sup>

"However, it is W. H. McLeod's recent *Guru Nanak and the Sikh Religion* (1968) which earns the right to be called the first thorough unbiased, critical, and original western study of the foundation of Sikhism."<sup>52</sup> McLeod surpassed the Western scholars in the theological studies of Sikh religion. It is in his work that we find a very clear and systematic study of the basic and major Sikh theological doctrines has been attempted.

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## THE SECRET SCIENCE OF YOGA AS SEEN THROUGH THE SACRED EYE OF A SIKH

Bhai Dayal Singh Khalsa,  
Sardar Vikram Singh Khalsa, and Sardarni Premka Kaur Khalsa

As a system and a technique, yoga has been known and practiced by humanity for literally thousands of years. As it was preached in mediaeval India, yoga was totally interwoven into the fabric of Hinduism, and in fact was one of the major sources of exposure to religious life for the masses of people. The yogis of that period of time used to retire from the world, to practice the techniques of Hatha Yoga, to practice celibacy and to make their livelihood by begging from the local householders. Their involvement in the ritual performance of certain practices, their achievement of mastery of various occult powers, made them objects of great veneration by the common people, though they were also regarded with great fear and anxiety. The yogis developed the relationship with the common people that whenever they would appear with their begging bowl, one felt both privileged and utterly compelled to fill the bowl with food. The yogis would be inclined to share their wisdom and knowledge with the people and it was through the association of these wandering, begging yogis, that the common people learned about God, about the philosophy of Hinduism and of the nature of life and death. However, many of these wandering yogis would also not be above using their occult powers to cause harm or discomfort to those who did not properly receive them or who did not offer them food or hospitality. Because of this, and also because they had withdrawn from any work or worldly occupation and had become a burden to society, the yogis earned rather unpleasant reputations.

Because the terminology of yogic practice was so widely spread and in such common usage at the time of Guru Nanak, it was natural for him to speak of these same higher truths, using much of yogic terminology. It is also true that yogic terminology and the objects of yogic practice was totally in accord with the realizations which Guru Nanak was sharing during his lifetime. Therefore, many of Guru Nanak's hymns speak about yoga and about yogis, admonishing against ritualistic practices which seek enlightenment and union with God through one's efforts alone, and reminding the yogis and the people of the highest meaning of yoga and of the real object of self-discipline, most of which had become lost in superstition and fear. Guru Nanak exposed the meaninglessness and contradiction of the life of the recluse and called everyone to the path of love and righteous action, and he gave a fresh spiritual and ethical orientation to their esoteric terminology.

The word Yoga comes from the Sanskrit root 'yuj,' which means 'to join.' It also has been pointed

out by Yogi Harbhajan Singh, that it arises from the word 'yoke' (from the Bible) and again refers to the action of uniting. Yoga therefore means 'union'—union of the individual soul with the Universal Soul. This experience has been given many names, according to many languages and religious traditions, including: Christ Consciousness, Anand (bliss), Enlightenment, Mukti (liberation), etc. The influence of yoga in Indian spiritual tradition has been so great that the *Bhagavad Gita* is a work which is essentially an exposition of yoga in its several varieties, particularly the Yoga of Action (Karma Yoga), the Yoga of Love (Bhakti Yoga) and this emphasis in the 'Gita' helped to dispel the impractical and pessimistic tendencies which the doctrine of yoga in its extreme forms had spread among the masses, where retirement from life had come to be looked upon as the highest attainment.

Realizing that yoga means quite literally 'union with God' then it is clear that the goal of yoga is the same as the goal of the Sikh, which is the same as the goal of a true Christian, Hindu or Muslim. The goal is to realize the highest truth in our everyday life and the very practice of Nam, of repetition of the Name of God, which is the entire message of *Siri Guru Granth Sahib*, is in itself the highest form and practice of yoga.

The system of Raja Yoga, the most well-known system of the Six Hindu schools of thought, was founded by a great sage called Patanjali, and his system (Patanjali's Yoga Sutras—*How to Know God*) have become the standard text for all discussion of this system. His system was based on eight steps:

- 1) Yams—Bad habits to be avoided.
- 2) Niyams—Good habits to be cultivated.
- 3) Asana—Control of the physical body.
- 4) Prayayam—Control of the life force.
- 5) Pratyahar—The law of substitution (removal of attachment to the senses and desires of the mind).
- 6) Dharana—Concentration.
- 7) Dhyana—Meditation.
- 8) Samadhi—Divine Bliss.

All of these steps are clearly necessary ones to be achieved in order to reach a state of enlightened consciousness. However Pantanjali's approach calls for celibacy and the renunciation of family life, and is extremely intellectual, requiring many, many years of austere practice before achieving any level of perfection or attainment.

Guru Nanak however, shaped Raja Yoga into a path that anyone can follow, regardless of caste,

creed or family status. Guru Nanak gave three foundation pillars of Sikh Dharma: 1) Nam Japna—Meditation on the Name. 2) Dharm da kirt karna—Performance of righteous deeds, or earning through honest labor. 3) Wanda chakna—Sharing with those in need. Therefore, we can see that Guru Nanak, instead of making meditation as something to be practiced only after achieving success in six other techniques, has given this as the first duty—the joyful practice of repeating God's Nam in word, thought and deed. By so doing, one attains the last three steps in Patanjali's system. The next step is to earn and live a righteous life. A Sikh, already blessed by repeating God's Holy Nam will easily fall into the pattern of right conduct and of avoiding bad habits. By working hard and through his meditation he will master his physical body and his life force. Finally, by sharing all that one has, a devout Sikh will master his senses and emotions and will realize that all comes to him from God and is to be shared with all.

Practically speaking, the Sikh Dharma has come about because our Gurus were the greatest yogis. This reality, a state of consciousness, is expressed many times by the Gurus and can be found recorded in the *Siri Guru Granth Sahib*. The Gurus were in such a union with the Bani, with God, that they had a total understanding of all things, the first quality of a true yogi. In this understanding they knew the reality and the misconceptions also of their Sikhs minds. They knew the reality of every ritual and of every practice going on, and working from that point of truth which all people could relate to, they spread the Word.

Guru Nanak himself described his way as 'Sahaj Jog' (the natural yoga) and within the *Siri Guru Granth Sahib* we find the following line:

"Raj Jog takhat dian Guru Ram Das."

"The throne of Raja Yoga was given to Guru Ram Das forever."

(p. 1399, p. 4621, M.M.S.)\*

Since Guru Ram Das was given the throne of Raja Yoga by Guru Amar Das and he then passed it to his son, Guru Arjun, it would appear that this was a gift given to the house of Guru Nanak which would become the heritage of the Sodhis (the descendants of Guru Ram Das), who became the last six Gurus of the Sikhs. It has also been stated by Kall (the poet):

"Guru Arjun kalcharae tae raj jog ras janiao."

"O Guru Arjun, thou knowest the essence of Raja Yoga."

(p. 1408, p. 4652 M.M.S.)

Totally absorbed in Nam, the Gurus knew everything and gave that experience to their Sikhs and made it available today through the *Siri Guru Granth Sahib*. That experience is one of total ecstasy of love of the Guru that is "Wahe Guru." Wahe Guru is the ecstasy of experience of total selfless love of the Guru and this experience manifests on all levels of existence, physical, mental and spiritual. This ex-

perience is beyond karma and as every abnormality or disorder is due to one's karma, the result of the experience of 'Wahe Guru' is that all disorders and diseases of every level of existence leave the person:

"Jo jo dise so so rogi, rog rehet mera Sat Guru Jogi."

"Whosoever I see is suffering from disease. Only my Sat Guru, who is a Yogi is free from disease."

(p. 1140, p. 3753 M.M.S.)

In this perfect ecstasy of Wahe Guru, a being glows and his Kundalini rises from the base of his spine to the top of his head to the pineal gland. The pineal gland radiates, and the pituitary gland secretes. The pineal gland is the 'Dasam Duar' or the Tenth Gate. This experience is the real yoga and without this yoga, without this experience there is no Sikh Dharma because the Dharma is based upon experience of this occurrence. By whatever name you call it, this stage of awareness, this state of consciousness is the ultimate goal of every spiritual path, of every yoga and of every religion. Whether one starts by practicing Kundalini Yoga and then meditates on Nam and then his personality becomes lost in Gurbani, or whether he first develops a love for Gurbani, does not matter. No matter how it is accomplished, it all must be achieved: meditation on Nam, rising Kundalini and personality lost in Gurbani. Raj Jog means that very experience and Guru Ram Das was given the throne of Raj Yog forever. So in the *Siri Guru Granth Sahib*, in the praises of Guru Ram Das, it is written:

"Kundalini surjhi sat sangat Paramanand Guru mukh macha."

"Associating with the saints their Kundalini radiates and through the Supreme Guru they enjoy the Supreme Bliss."

(p. 1402, p. 4634 M.M.S.)

The confusion regarding yoga and its place within Sikh Dharma undoubtedly arises out of the fact that the Gurus in their role as teachers rarely missed an opportunity to point out to the yogis of that time, the error of their ways:

"Eho jogna hov jogi je kutamb chod parbhavan kareh."

"If you leave your family and wander abroad O Yogi, this is not Yoga."

"Jog na baghvi kapre

Jog na melae ves.

Nanak ghar bethia

Jog paiae Satguru ke updeshe."

"Yoga does not lie in dirty clothes, nor in wearing dirty robes.

Nanak says, that yoga is acquired while sitting in one's own home

And by practicing the teachings of the Sat Guru."

(p. 1420, p. 4696 M.M.S.)

"Jogi jugat gavai handhe pakhand jog na pai."

"O Yogi, having lost the path of yoga thou wanderest about. Through hypocrisy yoga is not obtained."

(p. 909, p. 2964 M.M.S.)



It is this conception and image of a yogi which creates much misunderstanding and confusion in the minds of many Sikhs, and yet there is very much within the *Siri Guru Granth Sahib* itself to also support the place of yoga in the life of a Sikh, when it is related to in its original and highest meaning. The Gurus also never hesitated to use the terms of yoga in its original, uncorrupted meaning:

"Mohe gaia baeragi yogi ghat ghat kingur vai."

"The detached yogi (Sat Guru) has bewitched all and has played the lyre of the Lord's love in every heart."

(p. 907, p. 2957 M.M.S.)

The pages of the *Siri Guru Granth Sahib* abound with terms that are thought of as being 'esoteric' or 'mystic,' but actually describe the scientific changes that take place in the body through the practice of Kundalini Yoga, which includes all forms of yoga:

"Dasam duara agam apara param pukh kighate beni."

"The Tenth Gate is the abode of the inaccessible and Infinite Lord."

(p. 974, p. 3195 M.M.S.)

"Sukh man nari sahai samani pivae pivan hara. Aoduu mera man matvara.

Unmad chodha madan ras chakhai tribhavan baia ujara."

"The sukh man (central channel for kundalini energy) is in balance (between prana and apana) and the drinker drinks the wine (kundalini shakti).

With this wine my soul is intoxicated.

When that wine ascends to the brain, man tastes not the relish (worldly attachments) and sees the three worlds clearly."

(p. 939, p. 3178 M.M.S.)

"Sant charan darao mathe chandna greh hoi andharae

Sant prasad kamal bigasae gobind bhajao pekh narae."

"Meditate on the feet of the Satguru at the brow chakra (third eye point).

The pituitary gland will secrete and man sees the inner light.

The Satguru will open the heart chakra, center of divine compassion, then by repeating God's Name you will receive His vision."

(p. 1301, p. 4293 M.M.S.)

As we move out of the Piscean Age into the Aquarian Age, religions based on belief alone will wither away. The new religions of the world will be religions of experience. Sikh Dharma is based on experience and practice; it is not based on theory and theology alone. In the Aquarian Age the key-word will be "I know, therefore I believe." We who have been at the mercy of our subconscious minds and negative egos for so long are now using the yoga of Guru Nanak, the practical techniques laid out in

the *Siri Guru Granth Sahib*, to cleanse and purify ourselves so that we may have that direct vision of God. We strengthen and purify our bodies through physical yoga, so that these bodies which are the temples of our souls, may be as clean as the Golden Temple is kept immaculate.

At one time the Khalsa was made up of the strongest and healthiest people to be found anywhere in the world. All of the Sikhs of Guru Gobind Singh, men and women, participated in martial training in addition to their daily sadhana, karma yoga and participation in all duties of family life, and thus kept extremely fit.

Actually this is the fundamental law of the Sikh way of life, to raise the 'kala'—the expression which is commonly used is 'chardhi kala.' We should clearly understand that in reality, as Yogiji has stated: "Sikhism is nothing but a total yoga, and total yoga is nothing but to be a Sikh. You use the divine gift of life through the breath to call the Name of God and through these pranas you can obtain the Pranpatti (the Giver of life) which is the Infinity of you. The longing to belong, the love of the beloved, the 'prana' calls forth the Pranpatti through the Nam. The finite is the longing in you, and the Pranpatti is the Infinity of you and they, through your meditation, through your Nam Japna, merge in the Oneness of the One. That is the cycle. If you understand that, there is nothing you should misunderstand."

\*page numbers of *Siri Guru Granth Sahib* M.M.S.: Manmohan Singh translation.

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When in 1972 "*Register of Sikhs in the U.S.A. and Canada*" containing 520 family names was published, the trustees of the Sikh Foundation felt the satisfaction of another small accomplishment.

But soon it was realised that we had covered only a minuscule fraction of the Sikh population and that a more complete register could be very useful to our extended Sikh community in many different ways. So it was decided to publish another register of the Sikhs, possibly covering as many as 10,000 names.

In spite of the many announcements and solicitations through the Sikh Sansar, through local representatives and some personal contacts since early 1975, the response has been disappointing—far below 100 names. Perhaps a method more suitable for eliciting responses from

the Sikhs could have been adopted. But under the circumstances we regret that we are unable to publish the Register.

To those who had contributed toward this worthwhile project we offer our thanks and appreciation. You have shown a sense of pride in being a part of the Sikh community and a willingness to involve yourself and take some action in support of our convictions.

Since the publication of the Register is not feasible at this time, we suggest that your contribution for this project be now used as (1) subscription to the Sikh Sansar or (2) a special donation to the Sikh Sansar. Those who do not agree to either of the above two suggestions can obtain a refund by writing to the Sikh Foundation, P. O. Box 737, Redwood City, California 94064.

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## In the previous issue

Editorial .....	
Guru Tegh Bahadur—The Prophet of Assurance <i>Professor J. S. Grewal</i> .....	
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Materials for the Study of East Indian History in North America, <i>Bruce La Brack</i> .....	



*It has been said of Sikhs that they are too busy making their history to record it. With the exception of a small number of dedicated scholars (such as Prof: Ganda Singh, Khushwant Singh, etc.) this is unfortunately true, particularly in North America. This situation need not continue for there is a significant amount of published material available for the researcher of Sikh history in the United States and Canada. The difficulty is that such materials are scattered over a seventy year period, often to be found in obscure journals or in special collections. In order to promote and facilitate research by Sikhs on Sikh history, the Sikh Sansar will reprint a series in successive issues that is perhaps the most extensive bibliography now available on South Asian immigration to North America. Originally compiled and annotated by an anthropologist working among California Sikh communities, the bibliography has been expanded for SIKH SANSAR and a section added on archival resources. We hope that making such resources available will create an interest in the history of Sikh immigration and settlement in North America and stimulate further research. The author and editor realize that this initial bibliographical effort is only a beginning. We encourage our readers to bring to our attention additional citations of articles, books, and pamphlets which may have been overlooked. We further urge anyone who knows of the existence or location of other types of historic materials (such as family histories, legal documents, correspondence, diaries, photographs, tape recordings, etc.) which could be made available for study and cataloging to contact Sikh Sansar. In this way we can add to our knowledge and understanding of Sikh history in North America and preserve the story of our struggles and successes for future generations.*

Chief Editor

## MATERIALS FOR THE STUDY OF EAST INDIAN HISTORY IN NORTH AMERICA . . . continued

by: BRUCE LA BRACK  
South Asia Program — Syracuse University

### VI. SOCIAL AND POLITICAL LIFE . . . continued

Brown, Giles T. THE HINDU CONSPIRACY AND THE NEUTRALITY OF THE UNITED STATES. M.A.: University of California, Berkeley, 1941. 104 pp.

This political science study is concerned chiefly with aspects of international law connected with Ghadar Party activities and the resulting San Francisco trial of 1917. (A condensation of this thesis is available as "The Hindu Conspiracy, 1914-1917," PACIFIC HISTORICAL REVIEW, 17 (1948), p.300.

Jones, Idwal. "Mr. Har Chand," WESTWAYS. 31:9 (September 1939), pp. 16-17. CSL-California Collection.

The author presents a short character sketch of a Sikh who worked for him in the 1930's. Written with obvious affection, the article depicts the East Indian laborer in sympathetic, human terms. It provides a sharp contrast to the more prominent anti-Asian literature of that time.

Allen, Kathryn Martin. "Hindoos in the Valley," WESTWAYS. 37:3 (March 1945), pp. 8-9. CSL-California Collection.

Primarily a reminiscence, this article contains some interesting items, such as how a white friend loaned a Sikh \$500 after the Indian had lost a considerable amount of money trying to raise cotton in the Imperial Valley. The Sikh moved to the Sacramento Valley and proceeded to "make a killing in rice." The author estimates 600-700 East Indians once lived in the Imperial Valley area, 99% of whom were Sikhs, but notes that by the end of World War II, there were less than 100.

Naidis, Mark. "Propaganda of the Gadar Party," PACIFIC HISTORICAL REVIEW, 20 (August 1951) pp. 251-260. UCD.

This compilation and analysis of the themes of Ghadar Party literature printed in English was aimed at the American audience and designed to elicit empathy and public support. Naidis sought to equate the Indian Independence movement with American and Irish rebellions against England. Other appeals were directed at organized labor, prohibitionists, suffragists, humanitarians, and even Jewish Zionist interests.

Smith, Bill. "California's Bearded Lions," FORT-NIGHT: MAGAZINE OF THE PACIFIC COAST. 18:1 (September 1955), pp. 52-54. CSL-California Collection.

In this short, anecdotal article, Smith discusses the Sikh community of the mid-1950's. Focusing on the Stockton temple as a spiritual center for California's East Indians, he reviews the successes, social transformations, and inter-migrations of Sikhs since 1912.

Spellman, John, "The International Extensions of Political Conspiracy as Illustrated by the Ghadar Party," JOURNAL OF INDIAN HISTORY. 38 (1959), pp. 23-45. UCB.

Spellman's article provides a wide-ranging examination of terrorist conspiracies and their multi-national dimensions. Tracing the network of the Ghadar Party as an illustration, he shows how the tactics and organization of this group are structurally similar to other radical political movements.

Saund, D.S. CONGRESSMAN FROM INDIA. New York: E.P. Dutton & Co., 1960. 192pp. UCB.

An autobiographical account by the first Asian to be elected to the U.S. Congress, Saund tells of his early family life in the Punjab, his years as a student at Berkeley, agribusiness ventures in the Imperial Valley, and his political rise, first as judge, and later as Congressman. It is one of the few documents written by an East Indian about his American experiences, but it cannot be considered typical as Saund was a highly educated man who participated actively in American social life.

Banerjee, Kalyan Kumar. "East Indian Immigration into America: Beginnings of Indian Revolutionary Activity," *MODERN REVIEW*. 116:5 (November 1964), pp. 335-361. UCB.

Offering an Indian view of the rise of political consciousness among East Indians living in Canada and the United States, the author considers the early deprivations and indignities suffered by Indian immigrants to be a catalyst which led them to fight for the independence of India. The key role of Har Dayal and the Ghadar Party in the freedom struggle is examined.

Singh, D.P. *AMERICAN OFFICIAL ATTITUDES TOWARDS THE INDIAN NATIONALIST MOVEMENT, 1906-1929*. Ph.D.: University of Hawaii, 1964. 477 pp.

A "view from the top," the author examines a variety of source materials reflecting the United States government's official attitudes towards Indian nationalism up to 1929, with an emphasis on 1905-1919. A shift from initial suspicion and hostility towards the nationalists to partial acceptance of their argument on the right to self-government is noted. Although not directly related to the East Indian experience in America, this dissertation does reveal the general attitudes of the United States government towards South Asian nationalists at a time when U.S. Ghadar activities were at their height, immigration restrictions on East Indians were being contemplated, and the Alien Land Act was passed. (Revised as *AMERICAN ATTITUDES TOWARDS THE INDIAN NATIONALIST MOVEMENT*, Munshiram, 1974).

Banerjee, Kalyan Kumar. "The U.S.A. and Indian Revolutionary Activity: Early Phase of the Ghadr Movement," *MODERN REVIEW*. 118:2 (February 1965), pp. 97-101. UCB.

This is a continuation of the series on East Indian freedom fighters begun in the above citation. Beginning with the foundation of the Pacific Coast Hindustani Association, this article traces the rise and fall of the Ghadar Party as an effective political instrument in the liberation of India from British rule. The role of Ram Chandra, Lajpat Rai, Har Dayal and others is noted as are the consequences of the Indo-German plot which resulted in a San Francisco conspiracy trial in 1917-18.

Bose, Arun Coomer. "Indian Nationalist Agitations in the U.S.A. and Canada Till the Arrival of Har Dayal in 1911," *JOURNAL OF INDIAN HIS-*

*TORY*. LXIII, Part I:127 (April 1965), pp. 227-239. UCB.

Concentrating on the organizations and personalities connected with early Indian nationalist agitation in the U.S. (primarily New York and California), Bose outlines the efforts of such men as S.N. Bose, Ramnath Das, and T.N. Das. These activities are viewed as "rather abortive attempts at organizing active sedition among Indian students and immigrants in the U.S.A. and Canada . . .," but they, "contributed towards the maturing of the Indian antionalist agitation" in India.

Vatuck, Ved Prakash and Sylvia Vatuk. "Protest Songs of East Indians on the West Coast, U.S.A.," *FOLKLORE* (Calcutta), 7:10 (October 1966), pp. 371-382. UCD.

In this article, the Vatuks analyze protest songs from the Ghadar Party era. Political in nature, these songs are seen as an integral part of the Indian rural popular song tradition. The symbolic content and thematic elements of selected songs, most of which were translated from Punjabi, are examined.

Banerjee, Kalyan Kumar. *INDIAN FREEDOM MOVEMENT: REVOLUTIONAIRES IN AMERICA*. Khargapur: Department of Humanities and Social Sciences, Indian Institute of Technology (Calcutta - April 1969). UCB-South/Southeast Asia Library.

A combination of history and biography, this book provides a broad view of anti-British activities in the United States with particular attention to the Ghadar movement.

Ghaudhari, General J.N. "A View from Canada," *ILLUSTRATED WEEKLY OF INDIA*. 92:2 (January 10, 1971), pp. 18-20. UCD.

The "special relationship" between Canada and India, particularly the generous foreign aid, is examined. Included are a discussion of Canada's role in providing technical and financial assistance in the development of atomic power projects and a brief mention of limited social integration by East Indians (with the exception of the Sikhs).

Dignan, Don K. "The Hindu Conspiracy in Anglo-American Relations During World War I" *PACIFIC HISTORICAL REVIEW*. LX (1971), pp. 57-76. UCD.

Dignan explores the effect of the so-called "Hindu" conspiracy on World War I British and American political relations, pointing out the similarities in governmental attitudes towards "radical" East Indians in the U.S. This succinct article clearly reveals the tremendous legal and political pressures faced by the early migrants, including those who were personally apolitical. The British concern for internal security and preservation of colonial rule in India often coincided with American exclusionist forces, anti-Asian labor movements, and popular racist attitudes. The result was the halting of East Indian immigration to America in 1917, denial of citizenship in 1923, and numerous deportations; all such actions were approved by the British.

# Instructions to Authors

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1. All materials to be submitted for publication in SIKH SANSAR must be original and pertain to the fundamental religious precepts, the history, religion, and culture of the Sikhs.
2. The material should be typewritten, double-spaced, preferably on 8½" x 11" paper.
3. The article should be about four to ten typewritten pages. In exceptional circumstances longer articles would be considered for serialisation in consecutive issues.
4. All articles must contain an abstract which describes in encapsulated form the contents of the article.
5. References to material on which the contents of the article are based should be included to enable the reader to locate related material. The authors should take special care to see that as many pertinent publications as possible are referenced.
6. If a photograph is to be included in the manuscript, two black and white glossy prints of high contrast and clarity must be supplied.
7. Punjabi script portions of the manuscripts submitted must be typewritten originals of high quality.
8. Acceptance of the manuscript will depend upon the originality, clarity of presentation, and scholarly approach to the subject.
9. At this time no payment is envisaged for the material to be published in SIKH SANSAR.
10. A brief biographical sketch of the author and list of his other publications should also be included.
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